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Varna Secretaries Conference Leaders Comment

AU0410135789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Following the end of the conference of secretaries of international affairs of the Central Committees of communist and workers parties from the socialist countries that was held in Varna recently, Boyko Vutov, representative of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board, asked leaders of the delegations the following question: "In the light of the philosophy of the new political thinking, what, in your view, are the main tasks facing the socialist countries in the field of international affairs?"

Today we publish some of the replies.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party:

The philosophy of the new political thinking in foreign policy that is being implemented by the socialist countries is fully in line with the spirit of the Leninist theory on peaceful coexistence, and stems from the humanitarian essence of socialism. It is based on the universal rationalization of the global problems whose solution is of exceptional importance for civilization's survival. I therefore consider the most important tasks in our countries' foreign policy to be the following:

First, the strengthening of peace through developing and deepening the disarmament process. It is for this reason that the new accords relating to limiting nuclear arms that are being prepared by the USSR and the United States are a source of great satisfaction.

Second, the deepening of the processes aimed at security and cooperation, by turning the idea of the common European home into a concrete reality. Poland totally supports the initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries in this direction, and this aim is also served by the Polish initiative regarding cutting arms and strengthening confidence in Europe, known as the "Jaruzelski Plan." I am glad that this initiative has obtained the support of the other countries, Bulgaria included.

Third, vigorous actions are needed to peacefully solve the regional conflicts that conceal in themselves a global threat. Defending the idea of national agreement, participation in the UN Armed Forces and in international control and observation commissions—these are specific examples of our country's active role in this direction.

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

The socialist countries' activity in the international field has been rich and varied recently. Many of the aspects of this activity were discussed at our meeting in Varna.

In my answer I would like to mention two chief problems. With the present state of European and world development, the most topical task is the restructuring of international relations, so as to democratize, humanize, and demilitarize them. This will be a difficult process, and in the future it will continue to be contradictory, and in many directions even internally antagonistic. In other words, we welcome the messages for the future and actively support the positive developments, especially at the disarmament negotiations, but at the same time our thoughts remain sober. It is encouraging that understanding is growing in the world concerning global views and common human interests, and this is clearly reflected in the socialist countries' foreign policy.

Another key element to which I would like to draw attention is the broad sphere of interrelations between the socialist countries, their bilateral and multilateral relations. In this field new initiatives have appeared, but problems have surfaced as well, connected with the development of international relations and the changes in the world, as well as with the dynamic processes in the socialist countries. I consider that the most immediate task in our policies is to bring our mutual relations and joint activity into line with the current needs of socialist development.

Pact Military Council Completes Session

LD0610085989

[Editorial report] Prague Domestic Service in Slovak at 1700 GMT on 5 October carries a report on the Warsaw Treaty meeting held 3-5 October which states, "The regular session of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces Military Council has ended in Warsaw. It analysed the results of the training of the joint armed forces this year, set out tasks for next year's training, and discussed other matters."

Budapest MTI in English at 2115 GMT on 5 October, in a Budapest-dateline report, documents the Warsaw Treaty session as follows, "The Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states held a session in Warsaw, the capital of the Polish People's Republic, from October 3 to 5, with Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces, in the chair.

"The session was attended by the members of the Military Council and representatives of the allied armies and the commanding organs of the joint armed forces.

"The Military Council evaluated achievements in the training of the joint armed forces this year and, starting from the resolutions passed in July 1989 by the Political Consltative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, determined mutually coordinated tasks for the forthcoming year of training. The council discussed some further issues falling within the competence of the command of the joint armed forces.

"The session was marked by the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation between brothers-in-arms, in an objective atmosphere.

"The Hungarian negotiating delegation, which had attended the session under the leadership of Colonel General Lajos Morocs, state secretary of defence, returned to Budapest on Thursday."

Warsaw PAP in English at 2012 GMT on 5 October reports on the session as follows:

"The Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held a session in Warsaw on October 2-5.

"The session, chaired by Commander-in-Chief of the joint Armed Forces Gen. Petr Lushev, was attended by members of the Military Council, representatives of allied armies and of commanding bodies of the joint armed forces.

"The Military Council analysed the results of training conducted in the joint armed forces this year and mapped out training tasks for the coming year on the basis of decisions taken by the session of the Political Consultative Committee of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty in July 1989.

"The Council also examined other issues coming within the powers of the joint armed forces' command.

"The session was held in the spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and business-like cooperation."

East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1700 GMT on 5 October carries the following report on the session:

"A scheduled meeting of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states took place 3-5 October in Warsaw. Taking part in the meeting, under the chairmanship of Supreme Commander of the Joint Armed Forces Army General Petr Lushev, where the members of the Military Council as well as representatives of the allied armies and of the leadership organs of the Joint Armed Forces.

"The Military Council analyzed the results achieved in the training of the Joint Armed forces this year and established, starting from the decisions of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in July 1989, the tasks for the forthcoming training year. Questions were also discussed which fall under the responsibility of the command of the Joint Armed Forces.

"The meeting passed off in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual amity, and objective and comradely cooperation."

Pact Ministerial Meeting Set 26-27 Oct

LD1810183689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The next session of the Warsaw Pact member states foreign ministers committee will take place on 26 and 27 October in Warsaw, as agreed.

CEMA States Hold Varna Bank Council Session

Danchev Receives Bank Chiefs

AU1110195889 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 11 Oct 89

["CMEA: Role of Banks Activated"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, October 11 (BTA)—Mr Petko Danchev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received the chairmen of the central banks and other leaders of the delegations of the CMEA [CEMA] member states who are taking part in the regular session of the Councils of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank Moscow, which was opened here today.

Mr Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the leadership of the State Bank of the USSR, informed about the work and the decisions of the two international banks taken in implementation of the Complex Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress of the CMEA Member States up to the Year 2000. He dwelt on the new directions in their credit activity which is connected with the promotion of relations with the banks of the developed nonsocialist countries.

Mr Petko Danchev familiarized the guests with the revolutionary restructuring which is being implemented in Bulgaria in all spheres of life and in the economy in particular. A stress was laid on the important role of the currency and finance credit leverage for encouraging the intensification of the integration processes in the CMEA under the new economic conditions.

The meeting was attended by Mr Vasil Kolarov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the councils of the two banks.

Council Meetings End

AU1210202589 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Varna, October 12 (BTA)—The 71st session of the Council of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (ICEC) and the 48th session of the Council of the International Investment Bank (IIB) ended here today.

The participants considered the progress of the implementation of the programme of action to improve the operation of the ICEC on the basis of the enlarged

special session of the CMEA [CEMA] on a further raising of the efficiency of the settlement and crediting mechanism in transferable roubles. The session approved the work done by the bank.

The ICEC Council specified the credit plan for the current year, endorsed the plan for its work in the 1990-1991 period, and considered and adopted decisions on other matters.

The IIB Council considered the progress of the implementation of the measures to provide crediting support for the realization of the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000 and the promotion of new form of economic cooperation. The council approved the projects which will be financed, the credit plan for 1990, and the plan for the work in the 1990-1991 period and adopted decisions on other matters concerning the bank's operation.

The sessions of the councils were held in an atmosphere of full mutual understanding an businesslike cooperation.

CEMA Commission Holds Third Session in Sofia

Atanasov Meets Delegates

AU1110164989 Sofia BTA in English
1620 GMT 11 Oct 89

["CMEA Cooperation in Power Engineering"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received the leaders of the delegations to the third session of the CMEA [CEMA] Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Area of Electricity and Nuclear Power Engineering.

He familiarized the guests with the main directions in which the Bulgarian power engineering is developed and underlined the importance of domestic energy resources, nuclear power engineering and the economical consumption of electric power.

The leader of the Soviet delegation Yuriy Semenov, minister of power and electrification of the USSR, said that one of the most important problems discussed at the session was that of the work of the national and the united energy system and their preparations for the autumn and winter period.

It was pointed out that the commission is restructuring its activity and is increasing its efficiency.

Session Opens 10 Oct

AU1210153289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 89 p 2

[Krasimir Tsigularov report: "Strength of Cooperation"]

[Text] The Third Session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Area of Electricity and Nuclear Power Engineering opened in Sofia yesterday. Several important topics of this session evoke legitimate interest. First of all, this applies to the analysis of the extent to which the national power supply systems and of joint CEMA member-countries' energy system are prepared to cover the needs of the autumn-winter peak season in the consumption of electric power. Along with topical problems, however, the questions on the future development of cooperation in the power supply sector for the period up to 2000, are also emerging. As a matter of fact, these were the subjects submitted for discussion at the first plenary meeting of the session.

As Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, stressed in inaugurating the session, the successes achieved in cooperation related to the power supply sector could not be contested even by the most demanding observer. Major, and sometimes even unique, projects have been implemented. The scope of mutual cooperation in the field of the construction, maintenance, and exploitation of nuclear plants is particularly wide. This is an excellent basis which makes it possible to preserve our traditions and to further develop them in the future, he stated. The present session has all opportunities to provide additional incentives for the strength of our cooperation, Andrey Lukanov added.

Session Ends 13 Oct

AU1410153789 Sofia BTA in English
2150 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—The third session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Sphere of Electrical and Nuclear Energy ended today with the signing of a protocol.

The participants in the session discussed issues related with the improvement of parallel activity of the CMEA [CEMA] member states' united electrical energy systems, with the readiness of the national energy systems to cover the maximum load in the autumn-winter period of 1989-1990, with the development of agreements for economic cooperation. The draft was discussed for the commission's work up to the year 2000.

Significant place in the discussions was lent to the fulfilment of the programme for building of nuclear power stations and nuclear stations for thermal energy supply and the increase of their reliability. The potential of the nuclear power stations of the CMEA member states is more than 45,000 Megawatts and last year over 12 per cent of the aggregate annual quantity of electrical energy was turned out, it is written in the adopted communique. The introduction is to be launched of a new generation of "WWER-1000" reactors with improved technico-economic indices.

The commission approved a project for the cooperation between CMEA and the Latin-American Organization on Energy for a two-year period.

CEMA Railway Safety Council Session Ends

AU1810172089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A 5-day meeting of the Council of Commissioners for Communications and Safety Technology in Railroad Transportation ended with the signing of a protocol in Kraskov in the Chrudim District on Saturday [14 October]. The 15th session was attended by delegations of the CEMA member countries from Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR.

Prague International Cinematographic Meeting Ends

AU1910101789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A 3-day international meeting of representatives of cinematographic artists unions from Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the SRV, and Czechoslovakia ended in Prague on Monday [16 October] with the signing of a protocol on mutual cooperation.

Its participants were received by CSSR First Deputy Premier Matej Lucan in Prague on the same day. He expressed appreciation for the indispensable role of cinematographic art in forming socialist man and its great importance in the endeavor for social progress, understanding among nations, and peace in the world, and he thanked the representatatives of the creative unions for their meritorious activity in establishing international contacts in the interest of peace and friendship.

Socialist Economy Symposium Opens in USSR

AU1810193389 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—"The Market in the Socialist Countries" is the subject of the symposium which opened in the town of Sandanski, organized by the Union of Economy at the Federation of the Techno-Scientific Societies in Bulgaria and the All-Union Economic Society in the Soviet Union. Besides Bulgarian and Soviet experts, economists from Hungary, Poland and the GDR are participating.

The participants in the symposium, which will continue tomorrow too, will be offered over 40 reports. Topical issues related with the development of money, goods and labour market in the socialist countries will be discussed at plenary sessions in three sections.

Scientific Conference on Standardization Opens

AU1910202089 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Varna, October 19 (BTA)—"CMEA and International Regional Standardization: State and Prospects" is the subject of an international scientific and technological conference which the federation of techno-scientific organisations of the socialist countries opened here today. It is attended by quality and corporate development experts from the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Bulgaria, as well as of Austria, the CMEA Standing Commission on Standardization, the International Electrotechnical Commission (IEC) and the International Standardization Organisation (ISO).

Conference Ends

AU2110171589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] The 14th International Scientific and Technical Conference "CEMA and International and Regional Standardization: Situation and Prospects" has ended in Varna.

The conference examined issues connected with the technical level of international and CEMA standards. Experience was exchanged and problems were examined relating to the incorporation of these standards into national standards.

Hungarian NATO Observer Calls for Western Aid

LD1010150189 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A senior Hungarian official attending this week's NATO meeting in Rome has said that Hungary needs the support of the 24 highly-developed Western countries, including the 16 NATO member-states, in gaining access for Hungary's export products to Western markets if it is really to create a mixed ownership market economy.

Sandor Szabo, head of department at the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, who was attending a meeting of the NATO Economic Committee as an observer, requested the countries represented by the committee to scrap all trade restrictions on Hungarian export goods and confirmed that Budapest would like to conclude a free trade agreeement with the member states of the European Community and EFTA.

He also made it known that his government no longer wishes Hungary to be referred to as a 'state-trading country', a term which is sees as discriminatory. Mr Szabo added that Hungary intends conclude a three-year agreement with the IMF to carry out its economic development and restructuring programmes, and, although looking for flexibility on the part of Western financial institutions, it is seeking neither cancellation or rescheduling of its debts.

The Hungarian trade official concluded by pointing out that the above measures should be seen as a whole. Partial implementation would not have sufficient effect in supporting the Hungarian reform process, he said.

Hungary's Horn Addresses European Union

LD1310234289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The West German foreign minister has called Hungary's democratic development impressive. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was speaking at the 35th Congress of the European Union in Hamburg, where our country's foreign minister was also invited.

In his speech, Gyula Horn said that we promote a modernization of the Warsaw Pact. The essence of this is that the sovereignty of the member states should strengthen. This is a basic condition for realizing the reform processes, and to free the relations of the member states from ideopolitical restrictions. The relationship of the East European countries must be placed on new foundations which take into consideration the universal requirements of economic reform, democracy, and human rights. Gyula Horn emphasized: Our country's basic interest is to be able to take part in every European integration process. Our political resolve is to develop very close relations with the European Community, while at the same time it is necessary that the Community's countries take part in every way possible in the modernization of the Hungarian economy, said Gyula Horn in Hamburg.

Deputy Premier Medgyessy Addresses Vienna Forum

AU1610151889 Budapest MTI in English 2039 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, 13 Oct (MTI)—Hungary is ready to be a reliable partner to Austria in meeting its function of a European bridge. This is part of the address by Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, delivered at a two-day event in Austria of the World Economic Forum, a Swiss-based international organization.

He stressed that Hungary is giving priority to good cooperation with Austria, and is attempting to approach the West European integration. Hungary wishes to embark on all the courses leading to Europe, and calls for setting up Hungarian-Austrian-Yugoslav-Italian subregional cooperation. We also want closer links with EFTA, said Mr Medgyessay in his address.

European Ecological Forum Begins in Sofia

Opens 16 Oct

AU1610131289 Sofia BTA in English 1209 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—From today till November 3 the Bulgarian capital will host the meeting on environment protection in the frameworks of CSCE.

This morning the opening ceremony was held at the National Palace of Culture. Here are the official delegations of the 35 members participants and the three international organizations which were invited.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council addressed the meeting. (We transmitted the address separately).

After Mr Olof Palme in Stockholm, Mr Franz Vranitzky in Vienna, Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London and Mr Francois Mitterrand in Paris, now Mr Todor Zhivkov was the fifth high ranking statesman who had the opportunity to turn directly to the participants in the all European process.

In the golden book of the movement "Ecoforum for Peace" the state council president wrote:

"I greet warmly the world movement Ecoforum for Peace, its noble and humane ideals, the struggle of scholars, social and cultural figures for peace, understanding between peoples, environment protection, survival of humankind and life on the planet earth."

"Born in our country, choosing for a headquarters of its Secretariat, our capital Sofia, the world movement Ecoforum for Peace can be convinced that the People's

Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people will in future, too render it complete and all-round support and cooperation."

The session is continuing with introductory speeches of representatives of the countries participants.

Zhivkov Speaks

AU1810105889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Oct 89 p 1

["Greetings of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the participants in the European Ecological Meeting"]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades, it is an honor for me, on behalf of the State Council and Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in my own name, to greet you most cordially at the opening of the European ecological meeting and to wish you fruitful work and a pleasant stay in Bulgaria.

After Vienna, the road of renewal, confidence, and cooperation in Europe passed through London and Paris, in order to reach Sofia. It is pleasant for me to express our thanks for the high degree of trust shown in inviting us to host this meeting, which will undoubtedly be an event of wide significance.

History has brought it about that the present generations have been allotted the great responsibility of passing over thresholds on which mankind's survival depends.

Each of these thresholds, so to speak, brings into focus the political, economic, and intellectual changes of our time, and they represent a unique test of our sense of responsibility to the future and to history.

I will call things by their proper names: The problem of the nuclear threat is such a threshold; so is the problem of overcoming ecological disaster.

In our attitude toward ecology today, good words are answered by good deeds, and the interests of all countries and peoples find a common meeting point.

One of the unique assessments of our time is the conclusion that the ecological problem contains one of the keys not only to the survival of mankind, but also to its moral and intellectual renewal.

We share the conviction that the solution of this problem requires joint, coordinated efforts, dedicated cooperation, constructive dialogue, and modern political attitudes.

We greatly appreciate what has been achieved by the various European institutions, as well as what has been done within the framework of the Helsinki process and by the UN Economic Commission for Europe. A considerable number of unused opportunities also exist in regional forms of cooperation, which Bulgaria has been advocating in the Balkans through its proposal for a treaty on all-Balkan ecological protection.

Naturally, this road toward a new ecological awareness or, if you like, a new ecological order, is not, and cannot be an easy one. We know this from our own experience. However, as one of the old philosophers said, behind every difficulty also lie rich opportunities. I am sure that the very economic, technological, and other difficulties of all kinds on this path are leading and will lead to new scientific discoveries, to new economic solutions, and to new forms of strengthening human society.

All this is important, very important. At the same time, we will be making a serious mistake if we underestimate the core of the issue, the real depth of the problems.

For a considerable time, with the common efforts of different countries and peoples, mankind has been seeking effective means for unraveling the existing tangles, and is applying them with increasing success. Our experience so far in our efforts to limit and gradually eliminate the nuclear threat is filled with optimistic lessons and insights.

However, it is evident that we will be lacking in foresight if we fail to see the main thing that lies behind accumulated historical experience, the manifestations of universal reason and constructive will, the successes, and the severity of the problems.

In my view, the most important point is that our past successes and failures, our hopes and anxieties demonstrate how important it is that the world's development should go hand in hand with our common efforts to restructure it, and with seeking a universal human consensus in building a new world, a world characterized not by hostile confrontation, but by open doors for progressive cooperation in all fields.

In the context of such a historical alternative, the chief problem is how far all countries and peoples will be able to restructure themselves, in order to change the course of history.

We are optimists.

In today's world new processes are developing, processes that do not lead to opposition between East and West, but work for the world as a whole, the world as it is today and as it must be in the future.

Whereas previously concepts were formed that led to confrontation, we now face a new strategic choice, namely to build a new, renewed, and united world by the efforts of all peoples and countries, irrespective of the differences in their social systems.

It seems to me that in the final analysis this is the Gordian knot on which all the other cardinal problems of the present day depend, including the ecological issue.

For this reason, the efforts to resolve this problem cannot be separated from the concern of the different countries and peoples for a total restructuring of international relations, for economic prosperity, for a new

type of industrial progress, and for opening up wide horizons for man's creativity.

For this reason the change in the attitude toward ecology is one of the signs of the new political thinking, of the realization of the priority of universal human values in the historical destiny of every citizen on earth.

The construction of a common home that corresponds to the interests of all the European peoples is increasingly becoming a realistic task.

I believe that, as we Bulgarians say, we will build this house with a pure spirit and a pure heart, and that it will be a comfortable home in the ecological and all other aspects. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is also making its own contribution to this cause.

At present we are carrying out a restructuring in depth of the various spheres and activities, through which we are striving to further develop our society's material and intellectual potential and provide new opportunities for every Bulgarian citizen to implement his rights and freely express himself in all fields in accordance with our traditional democratic achievements and with the heritage of universal human experience and modern human civilization. We were among the first to adopt the Vienna accords and apply them in our legislation.

We have been striving for many years to resolve the problems connected with environmental protection, utilizing the possibilities of our economy, relying on all social forces and factors, and taking international standards into account. We have firmly resolved to give the green light to renewal in this sphere. A wide discussion is now in progress in Bulgaria of the draft law and national program for environmental protection.

Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen, the constructive spirit of the process that started in Helsinki by the European countries, United States, and Canada obliges us to continue our advance.

It is well-known that the word Sofia means wisdom. What stricter test of this human virtue can there be than the concern for a clear sky, pure water, and fruitful and safe earth?

We need today a special form of duty and responsibility, directed not only toward the present and toward the citizens of our countries, but also toward the future and the coming generations.

In the name of such an ecological future for Europe and the world, I wish success to the Sofia meeting on environmental protection.

Thank you for your attention.

Stoichkov Reception for Delegates

AU1610211989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] On 16 October Georgi Stoichkov, chairman of the National Organizational Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave a reception at the People's Palace of Culture for the participants in the European ecological meeting. The reception was attended by Comrades Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, ministers, leaders of sociopolitical and public organizations, cultural and scientific figures, journalists, and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions.

Hungarian UN Envoy Speaks on Minorities' Rights

LD1610204789 Budapest MTI in English 1834 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 16 (MTI)—Religious and minority discrimination cannot be looked upon as the internal affair of any country, because human rights are a universal value. This was the essence of the contribution by the Hungarian ambassador to the UN General Assembly, Andre Erdos, member of the Hungarian delegation.

The Hungarian Government and public are very sensitive to the violation of the rights of minorities, since if no solution is found to the problems concerning the identity of national minorities, well-balanced inter-state relations can hardly be expected to evolve, Mr Erdos emphasized.

He said it was an important achievement that it was unequivocally stated at the Vienna security and confidence-building talks that it cannot be considered interfering in the internal affairs of a given country if the observation of human rights there is being followed with attention by other states.

Mr Erdos also spoke about the system of so-called minority protection agreements, which were in effect in previous decades, but were to collapse owing to the second world war. The time had come, he said, for the United Nations to formulate new international regulations more in line with present-day requirements. Hungary is ready to take an active part in the related legislative procedures, the ambassador pointed out.

SFRY Envoy Stresses Nonaligned Nuclear Stance

LD1710203989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] United Nations, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Following agreement reached at their September summit in Belgrade, the Nonaligned [Movement] will insist on a complete ban on nuclear testing, Yugoslav Ambassador to the United Nations Dragoslav Pejic said today in a debate on disarmament at the U.N. Political Committee, whose session is under way in New York.

Since their first summit, also held in Belgrade, the nonaligned countries put the question of disarmament in the focus of their policies and immediate activities. The

movement has always tried to contribute to the process of disarmament in a nonstructive way, to stimulate super-power dialogue and give full contribution to the strengthening of regional and multilateral efforts to this aim.

The session of the U.N. Political Committee follows the debate at the 44th General Assembly session, as the beginning of concrete discussions of individual problems for which adequate solutions must be found, in accord with the promoted wish and need of mankind to overcome conflicts and secure peaceful development. The question of disarmament is precisely one of such issues.

Presenting Yugoslavia's stand, which is in full accord with the stand of the Nonaligned Movement outlined at their ninth nonaligned summit, Ambassador Pejic underlined the need of speeding up negotiations which would lead to nuclear disarmament. Pejic stressed that the super powers, as well as their alliances which hold the monopoly of destructive power, have the greatest responsibility and biggest commitment in this. As shown by recent developments, there is no disarmament without agreement between the super powers. The nonaligned support current talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, but believe that decisive steps must be taken towards a total ban on nuclear testing and preventing the spreading of the arms race into space.

Urging a bigger role of the United Nations in the negotiating process leading to universal disarmament, Ambassador Pejic stressed that multilateral achievements never in any way harmed bilateral agreements. On the contrary, even the smallest progress reached in disarmament talks encountered full U.N. support.

Vienna Conference on Confidence, Security Ongoing

GDR Envoy on Military Seminar

AU1810100189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 14-15 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Agreement on Seminar on Military Doctrines"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—At the Vienna negotiations on confidence-building measures and security in Europe agreement has been reached on the agenda of the seminar on military doctrines and military policy.

At yesterday's plenary session GDR Ambassador Guenter Buehring said that the degree of confidence achieved in implementing the Stockholm document has made even skeptics venture to undertake the experiment of a first official exchange of views of the 35 CSCE states on such issues. One has to assess as positive the declared intention to "provide the Vienna negotiations with background knowledge" in this seminar. In dealing with the schedule and other organizational questions, everybody should be guided by the fact that this seminar can only play a role in the negotiations if it takes place in time, that is, at the beginning of next year.

Concerning the use of an exchange of information, which has to be agreed on, Ambassador Buehring said that this can have a confidence-building effect if it is considered not as an end in itself, but as a first step on the path toward mechanisms that subject the measures of rearmament, modernization, or introduction of new conventional weapons systems, in particular weapons which work in a completely new way, to certain restrictions. Confining oneself to purely mutual information could serve to legitimate unlimited modernization of armed forces and conventional armaments. The GDR will continue to look for ways of including questions of limiting the qualitative arms race in the negotiations.

Hungary's Havasi Address

AU1610161389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Oct 89 p 1

["t.c." report: "Hungary Wants Reforms of Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] Sopron—Hungary's Deputy Foreign Minister Bela Havasi clearly expressed Hungary's hope for a "modernization and reform" of the Warsaw Pact. In an address to the delegation heads to the Vienna negotiations on Confidence-building Measures and Security and on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe [CFE], Havasi stressed Hungary's loyalty to the alliance on the one hand, but hinted that Hungary wants more flexibility in the military sector.

"The Warsaw Pact, too, should not look backward, but into the future and adapt its concepts to the conditions of the changed situation in Europe," Hungary's Deputy Foreign Minister Bela Havasi stated in an interview with DIE PRESSE on Saturday [14 October]. Earlier, in a speech to the delegation heads of the Vienna conferences on Confidence-building Measures and Security and CFE, which was followed with great attention, he called for the modernization of and reforms to the Warsaw Pact.

The delegation heads had just concluded a trip to Western Hungary, organized by Vienna's Foreign Ministry, in which Foreign Minister Mock also participated, together with other Foreign Ministry officials. On the Hungarian side, besides Havasi, Hungary's ambassador to Vienna, Nagy; the offical who is responsible for protocol, Benyei; as well as several section heads were also present.

Havasi expressed his hope for reforms within the Warsaw Pact at a dinner in Nagycenk. However, at the same time he stressed that Hungary will remain loyal to all its allies.

In a talk with DIE PRESSE, the deputy foreign minister stated that the "mechanisms" of the Warsaw Pact are obsolete and should be modernized. Above all, it is important to reform the "process of arriving at decisions" and to adapt it to the "new situation."

Hungarian Delegate Comments

LD2010155489 Budapest MTI in English 0736 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Vienna, October 20 (MTI)—Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation, made a contribution on Thursday to the Vienna talks of the twenty-three Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe.

He called the third round of talks then concluded very successful. "The talks have reached a new phase, characterized not by spectacular and large-scale proposals, but by the joint elaboration of details," he said. He also called attention to the fact that as the talks were carried out not between the two military blocs, but between their twenty-three sovereign member states, it was necessary that each participating country should undertake clear-cut individual responsibilities. He stressed that the negotiating parties should make figures on their conventional arms available to each other already before signing the agreement. Mr Meiszter emphasized that Hungary was interested in the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states' signing their first agreement the following week, which may be an important step towards the dissolution of military blocs in the foreseeable future.

Romanian Delegate Addresses Tirana Balkan Meeting

1940 GMT 19 Oct 89

["Romania's Stance on Balkan Issues Set Forth at a Meeting in Tirana"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tirana AGERPRES, 19/10/1989—The Romanian delegation to a meeting of representatives of National Committees on Collaboration and Understanding Among Balkan Peoples and of similar organizations in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, set forth Romania's active stance and President Nicolae Ceausescu's actions and initiatives for the transformation of the Balkans into a region of peace and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign military bases, a model zone of bi- and multilateral collaboration as a component part of cooperation, detente and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The participants in the meeting stated for actions taken on multifold planes to contribute to better knowledge of historical and cultural assets, the consolidation of mutual confidence and understanding, of peace, security and stability in the Balkans.

The heads of the participating delegations were received by Rita Marko, vice-chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Alia Speaks to Tropoje Cadres 5 Oct

AU1210114389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Oct 89 pp 1-2

["From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia," Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at a meeting with cadres of Tropoje District in Bajram Curri on 5 October: "Let us Strengthen Socialism's Prospects by Performing Today's Tasks"]

[Text] From the socioeconomic point of view, Tropoje District has kept pace with the rest of the country. The victories of socialism are evident everywhere, in every village and family. Education and culture have enriched people's lives and have multiplied their capacity for labor many times.

As regards social production per inhabitant, Tropoje ranks among the most advanced districts. One inhabitant in 2.5 works, not including pensioners. Tropoje has over 950 high-level cadres and more than 3,300 professionally trained middle-level cadres. It is now in a position to send specialists to other districts. Tropoje is in third place in the republic in attracting pupils to secondary education. These achievements must encourage you to have new successes. Plans are being well fulfilled in Tropoje, particularly in industry, trade, education, and so forth. However, there are also problems. Between 1986-1988, production expenditure was exceeded by 20 million leks and there were shortfalls in cereal crops, potatoes, vegetables, milk, and so forth. The number of small livestock is about 13,000 below the planned target. The contribution of fruit growing to the agricultural economy is between one-third and one-half what it should be, bearing in mind the area under cultivation. Certain planned targets in agriculture and construction are not being met in 1989 as well.

There are problems of labor productivity in agriculture and mining not only in your district, but throughout the northeast. This area, including Librazhd, produces about 60 percent of the country's minerals. There must be limits to further attracting workers to the mines because this harms agriculture. These districts, including Tropoje, are at the bottom of the list as regards income from agriculture and earn slightly more than one-half of the national average from this source.

Losses arising from damage and breaches of financial discipline are also not inconsiderable, not to mention absenteeism and failures to realize labor norms, subjects which deserve more attention. In the first 6 months of 1989, one-fourth of all working people working according to norms failed to meet their targets. In the first 6 months of 1988, production losses through absenteeism totalled 17,000 days.

Bearing the problems that have arisen in mind, the decisions of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum are particularly important for your district, as they are for the whole country. I wish to stress that these decisions must be understood properly and in their entirety.

It is evident from the daily press and the television that the decisions have aroused interest among the working people. It is nevertheless not hard to detect two tendencies and to draw two conclusions from the series of discussions and interviews in the propaganda media.

On one hand, one can distinguish active people, militant communists, revolutionary young people, workers, determined cooperativists and intellectuals who, when talking about the plenum decisions, try to examine their own tasks and those of their collective from a new angle. They notice the new opportunities that are created when certain bureaucratic practices are eliminated and when the work of the party, state, and economic bodies is not confined to words and observations, but is accompanied by tangible action and a spirit of mass action that stimulates initiative and avoids all routines that hamper development. These comrades are not content with what they are used to or with outmoded standards, but seek the most effective ways to strengthen the economy, supplanting administrative methods and command management with economic methods and the use of economic and financial mechanisms and levers.

On the other hand, there is a tendency among some people to say that the decisions of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum are right, that the problems have been raised at the right time, and so on. However, their ideas remain superficial and they do not think of what they can do, what their own problems are, and how they can solve them. They confine themselves to general terms, saying that they will plan their work, that they will encourage discussion, and fight against bureaucracy; however, they say nothing about what they will plan, what they will discuss, and what they consider bureaucracy to be, what its symptoms are, how it frustrates them, and what they are going to do about it. This attitude must not be allowed to take root in collectives and basic organizations because it prevents matters from improving and fails to create a stir and uncover shortcomings. These people fail to grasp the essential point of these decisions, which is the need for a thorough revolutionization of the life of the party and the entire country.

I shall not dwell on all the issues raised by the eighth plenum, but will merely draw your attention to two problems: first, to the need to reinforce ties with the masses in order to strengthen socialist democracy. The party's work is effective when it considers the decisive role played by workers, cooperativists, the intelligentsia, and the entire people in socialist construction. Understanding the role of the masses means living alongside the masses. It is not merely a matter of the masses' role as producers and as a work force. This aspect is familiar because it is obvious. It is a question of another aspect, the role of the masses in working out party policy, managing and supervising work, studying and passing on advanced experience, and so forth. This involvement of the masses has created the characteristics of our social order, and it is in precisely this way that we prevent the bureaucracy, red tape, and technocracy that consider

management to be merely a matter of people in offices, cadres, and party, state, economic, military, and cultural authorities.

The party has fought against these tendencies and practices; however, if we are realistic, we can see that they have become habitual in both visible and invisible ways, that they have taken root in people's psychology, and are even reflected to various degrees in legislation, in the methodology of economic and financial planning, in regulations, in the allocation of responsibilities, in management methods in the economy, and so forth. We must insist on criticizing and combating all forms of hugger-mugger committee work.

As early as 1965, Comrade Enver voiced his special concern for the struggle against creeping bureaucracy, as a grave danger that frustrates the masses' creative role. Instead of summarizing his ideas, I would rather read his diary entry for 20 August 1965, when he was on summer vacation in Pogradec.

"Despite the great successes we have achieved everywhere and the various and diverse measures we have taken to improve our work in managing the apparatus of both the party and the state, the machine still, as it were, creaks. Something prevents it from forging firmly ahead more vigorously and in a revolutionary way. I think it is creeping bureaucracy that is hindering us, because it has started to become a very serious sickness. Have we diagnosed and tried to fight this disease? Yes, but not enough or in the right way. Because of petit bourgeois pressure, the symptoms of bureaucracy are most serious in the state organs, threatening our thinking, work, and organization. I think that deplorable and harmful command-chains and "strings" have been created in the state administration, smothering and extinguishing initiative at work; bureaucratic thought and behavior attracts all kinds of alien and unacceptable attitudes and behavior like a magnet.

"We have often taken steps to eliminate these symptoms, and we cannot say that there have been no results; however, I am still worried, because I see that our results have not been as effective and radical as they should have been. I am on vacation, but this state of affairs worries me, while it also helps me to ponder the situation more deeply.

"When it is a matter of effort and struggle, the party fights heroically, but we have perhaps not chosen the right way to fight bureaucracy. We have not tackled the nub of the matter, but have issued instructions from on high, announcing them to the base, and we have not relied sufficiently on the base. I think that the base must give the call for a great mass action of major political, economic, and national importance, and should carry out this mass action under the party's leadership, but without bureaucratic 'strings' and stumbling blocks.

"I have been thinking that this great mass action must be the drafting of the plan for the fourth 5-year period. The party and the masses have tremendous experience; let us give this experience free rein. I am convinced that, if we do not bind the party and the masses hand and foot with our "figures" and the State Planning Commission's "scientific conclusions," they will produce amazing political, ideological, organizational, and economic results. The strength of the party and the masses is stupendous; the wonderful "machine" must be set in motion.

"This will be a great political, ideological, and organizational lesson, because an air of bureaucracy and arrogance now hangs about managers at every level; they behave as if they know everything and have foreseen everything, and they think that it is the masses, the working people, who are to blame for everything that does not turn out well, and not they themselves. This mass action will provide us with the working methods to tackle other links in the chain, oiling the chain properly and cleaning away the rust.

"This idea makes Pogradec seem more lovely to me, because everything strikes you in its beauty when you put your ear to the heartbeat of the party and the people. Always relying on the masses for everything gives you the right answer."

As we see, Comrade Enver lays stress on the role of the masses as the main weapon in the fight against bureaucracy, and sees their initiative as the only way to surmount the arrogant attitudes of those who think they know everything, and who blame other people for mistakes.

Comrade Enver often emphasized that the party has repeatedly taken steps to fight symptoms of bureaucracy. That is the truth, and we can say the same today. However, we must also add that for various reasons, about which Comrade Enver could not be aware at the time (I am thinking of the hostile activity of Mehmet Shehu, Abdyl Kellezi, and so forth) the party's decisions were not fully implemented. Moreover, bureaucracy is a phenomenon that must be continually fought, because it revives and adapts to new conditions by creating fresh routines which, if they are not detected, are adopted by various employees and managers. Let us take the personnel issue. Were not measures taken to cut personnel? Indeed they were. But did not the list of staff grow again and was there not a clear tendency to extend them with assorted institutes, general directorates, and special organizations? Were not decisions made to involve cadres more closely in the life and labor of the working masses by giving them manual work? Indeed, such decisions were made. But do they not exist only on paper now, and has not this period merely become an extra month's vacation? Let us go further. Have not the nomenklatura and the competences of various bodies been reviewed, in order to delegate more responsibility to lower-level bodies? Have not work norms, regulations, forms of remuneration, wages, professional training programs, and courses in political economy and philosophy been repeatedly reviewed? They have been reviewed often. Yet are there not still today many obstacles that hinder

our work and fail to correspond with our present level of development, and are not some of these bureaucratic?

What conclusion can we draw? The fight against bureaucracy is a continual one. The only cure for it is the line of the masses, the activation of the working people, and the encouragement of their initiative. Comrade Enver spoke about the need for the masses themselves to draw up plans for economic and cultural development. We are doing this now in Elbasan, Lushnje, and Permet and in some districts and cooperatives, with very good results. However, this experiment has been confined solely to agricultural production. What would happen if it were also extended to industrial production and financial matters? The necessary answers must be found without fail.

The role of the masses and the initiative of the working people must be encouraged with education and incentives, but also with prices, contracts, in appointments to jobs, in planning methodology, and so forth. If we have to wait months for the price of a product to be approved, the directive to produce this new product becomes worthless in practical terms. If approval has to come from as high as the Ministry of Finance for a foreign currency stimulus to be given to enterprises that exceed the export plan, in accordance with a government decision, this stimulus loses its power to boost production. Planning methodology in agriculture must be of a kind that stimulates thinking about the structure of agricultural production and the rationalization of stockraising, in accordance with climatic and soil conditions, tradition, and so forth, naturally not forgetting national interests.

As you see, there are many problems; analyzing the decisions of the eighth plenum therefore involves the most varied fields of our economic, social, education, and cultural development. However, the question of the role and initiative of the masses, and of the extension of socialist democracy, which means the line of the masses, lies at their center.

The second issue I wish to stress involves strengthening and continually improving the party's political work. If we say that the masses play a decisive role in socialist construction and their initiative is a precondition for solving problems as they emerge, then there is an obvious need for the masses to acquaint themselves with the tasks set by the party and to understand the party's aims, to realize what it is that is hindering them in their work, and to familiarize themselves with the domestic and foreign political factors that influence our development. These matters are the goal and task of the party's political work. The party must explain these problems to the masses and inspire them to undertake mass actions to solve them.

The party must combat certain weaknesses in this field as well, such as noticeable symptoms of formalism, escapism, generalized phrase making, and uniformity. There are plenty of such shortcomings among party committees, in the press, and among activists. To what extent are secretaries of party committees and party bureaus themselves working in this field? To what extent do these leading cadres keep themselves well-informed, talk in front of communists and working people about problems of the international situation, and explain various events in the world, starting from those taking place around us, and drawing appropriate conclusions? What about economic, cultural, educational, and defense problems? What political, economic, cultural, and planning problems of concern to the party do they set before the masses for discussion? How do they conduct the debate? Do they welcome and listen to the views of the masses, or do they impose their own viewpoint?

Nor can we say that the press, radio, and television do this work well. There are a lot of "musts," "demands," directives, and instructions in the press, just as there are a lot of trivial articles and long reports about single individuals or secondary issues. There are no propaganda articles that provide theoretical backing to the problems the party deals with. There are no battles of wits involving logic and scientific arguments. There are no analyses and reports that demonstrate the vigor of the masses' creative thinking and initiative.

We must therefore improve the party's political work with the masses. I am thinking here not only of workers and peasants but also such specific strata as the intelligentsia, young people, women, and veterans. They all want to follow the course of events, to understand the problems the party is setting before them, and to know what the party is asking of different working people. Let us fight against work behind closed doors, among delegates. The party's leading cadres, centrally and in the districts, must maintain the closest possible contact with the masses, reporting, I repeat, reporting on their work and elucidating the party line. Who can do this better than leading cadres? Nobody.

Special attention must be devoted to the mass organizations, the Democratic Front, the trade unions, and the youth and women's organizations. These organizations include hundreds of thousands of working people in their ranks, and they can greatly extend the scale of political work with the masses, adapting it according to the interests of social classes and groups, and devising the most varied, free, and stimulating kinds of activity.

The Democratic Front in particular must actively support the party in eliciting the masses' healthy and progressive opinion on development plans, explaining the party's policy in every field, in agriculture, industry, education, culture, in increasing the people's prosperity, in essential services, income distribution, and other areas. This has been done before, but the times demand a qualitative improvement in the thinking and initiative of the mass organizations.

To keep in step with the times means to be aware of the changes that are taking place and the consequences they will entail. For instance, we have created a numerically

large intelligentsia, who play a major role in all the activities of society. It is in the interest of the party and socialism that this educated social stratum, which is made up of the sons and daughters of the working people, should become as active as possible and should make its own contribution, not only in the workplace but in the entire nation's development and progress. How must their views be elicited? There are many ways. The Democratic Front could be the best-qualified organization to act on this demand of the party.

Comrade Ramiz later drew attention to certain other tasks in connection with improving the party's work in Tropoje District. He concluded by wishing those present and all the people of the district fresh successes in this jubilee year of the liberation.

Alia Speaks in Puke District 7 Oct

AU0810170689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, delivered in Fushe Arrez, Puke District, on 7 October 1989—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, [hurrahs, shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready!"]

It has been some years since I was here, in your beautiful and new city, which has now assumed the features of a real urban industrial center. Allow me, in the name of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee, to bring to you and to all of the people of Puke District warm greetings and to wish you further successes in the fulfillment of the tasks that you have taken upon yourselves. [shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready!"]

Fushe Arrez was created during the era of the party. I am pleased to recall that your enterprise has a militant collective, tireless workers, and able specialists who have continually fulfilled all tasks in all of their economic and financial indexes, always producing high quality products with a stringent regimen of thrift, as the party has always said and as Comrade Enver Hoxha used to instruct us. [shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready!"]

You rank among the vanguard collectives of our industry and are justifying the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor with concrete deeds. [applause]

The district of Puke has changed a lot in every respect. It is no longer the poor region that it used to be, where a handful of corn merited a legend. It is no longer a hearth of illiteracy and ignorance, of diseases and suffering. On the contrary, the progress achieved here in all fields cannot be compared with the past, in the economic field as well as in that of social emancipation. [applause, shouts]

Giving priority to the exploitation of forests, as well as the numerous underground assets that you possess, your district has been transformed in the years of the people's power into an area where two-thirds of social production is provided by industry. Production has nearly doubled within a decade through your tireless work. What is important is that agriculture, too, is progressing. It now meets almost the entire food requirements of your district's population. The supply of the population with daily consumer commodities has improved. The district of Puke has given a valuable example to the entire country with regard to the supply of the rural population with meat, setting up small herds of pigs on the basis of squads, villages, and families.

At the present stage of development the role of various highland districts and areas, as is also shown by the economic results in your district, can no longer be measured in terms of their size, but primarily in terms of the intensity of the utilization of their underground assets, in terms of their productivity and contribution to the expanded socialist reproduction of the economy, and in terms of their proportion of their overall social production. Puke is the smallest district in the Republic. However, it has pushed Mirdite into second place with regard to copper extraction and has occupied the same place with regard to forestry exploitation. This shows the correctness of our party's economic policy, which has always aimed and continues to aim at the harmonious development of all regions.

In general, the entire northeastern region, including the district of Puke, provides a social product per capita which ranks among the highest in the Republic. This is due to the praiseworthy efforts of the population of this area, but also to the generosity of our rich underground, which is being successfully exploited. The transformation of Puke into a major industrial area has also been accompanied by profound social and class transformations, with the rise of a militant workers class, which sets an example to all of the working people of the district. This is of special importance. However, this fact must also be made better use of by the party to introduce the spirit of the workers class in the countryside, as well as to bring to those areas the culture of the workers class and to bring about positive changes in the way of life, where a lot remains to be done.

Your district provides one-third of the copper ore extracted in our country, 40 percent of the copper concentrate produced, and it occupies first place with regard to pyrites extraction. The economic might and responsibility of your district will be further increased with the commissioning of new mines in Lakrosh and Monelle. The geological sector responded well to the tasks set out by the Ninth AWP Congress to direct its efforts toward the discovery of rich ore deposits, particularly with regard to copper and chrome. The task now is to advance as quickly as possible to exploit them. Do not forget that the Sixth AWP Central Committee has stipulated a number of tasks with regard to the Lakrosh and Monelle deposits, tasks that must be fulfilled.

The copper industry must raise its overall efficiency. The income provided by this industry is relatively low, compared with the expenditure effected to extract and process the mineral. The opposite is true with regard to the chrome industry, which provides the country with two or three times more income, compared with the expenditure. Let us not forget that the copper industry in our country has the most complete processing cycle of all minerals extracted. As far as chrome is concerned, even after the commissioning of two more ferrochrome plants in the course of the current 5-year plan, only one-third of the mineral extracted will be processed.

Puke is a district with growing economic potential. I am not only taking into consideration the material side of things. Man stands above everything else. It is the workers class of Puke which has become a master in the exploitation of mines and forests. I recall a sentence in the letter that the collective of the Fushe Arrez Timer Processing Enterprise sent to me 3-4 years ago, just before its 40th anniversary. It said: This collective does not know failures in plan fulfillment. I have asked and I have been told that this collective has remained in the van even in the years that have elapsed since. [applause, shouts] I therefore greet this heroic collective and wish it further victories and successes. [applause, shouts]

Our country is rich in forests, but we must treat our forests well. We have inherited one of the richest forest assets in the Balkans, assets that have been created over the centuries. We are not permitted to use our forests as a limitless asset. We must take extremely good care of our forests. The youth, as in many other matters, has a great role to play in this. If the coefficient of the utilization of our timber is now approximately the same as in the case of metals, this means that a certain mentality must be changed, and quickly. Otherwise, we will be doing a disfavor to future generations. However, this is not and must not be in the nature of our party's economic policy. The party works for the present, but thinks and must think about the future, too, with the same sense of responsibility. [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready!"]

Pointing out the progress made in industry, we must not forget agriculture. I believe that you will not misunderstand me if I make certain observations about this question. The question is that we must progress in conformity with the requirements of the times, also with regard to agriculture. However, what do we observe? With the exception of the cultivation of corn, which was highly commended by our comrade secretary, you occupy the last place on a Republic scale with regard to all other crops, as well as with regard to the livestock sector. This is partly because the agricultural acreage in your district is very limited. This is true. You have perhaps the lowest acreage of arable land per capita in the Republic. However, precisely because of this, agriculture in Puke District has no future without high yields. The intensification of production is particularly important in the livestock sector. You possess marvelous natural conditions favoring the breeding of goats and sheep. Others envy you, and yet you rank last as far as the number of livestock per unit of arable land is concerned. You must change this situation without delays. I express the party's confidence that Puke District will achieve the radical turning point required in this direction. The fact that the major proportion of your income is derived from industry must not induce you to neglect agriculture and livestock, because these assure the food of the population and assure the improvement of living standards.

Comrades, as you know, the Eighth Party Central Committee Plenum met a few days ago. It instructed that the leading role of the party should be strengthened in every way, so that it will be able to respond better to the demands of the times and the problems that arise in all areas of socialist construction. This plenum will no doubt lend fresh impetus to all our work. Our party was born as a party of innovation, and will remain as such, a party which has successfully confronted the major tasks facing it, both in the struggle for national liberation and in the struggle for socialist transformation. The eighth plenum insisted that the party should also follow this road in the future, so that it will courageously hurl itself into the fresh problems ahead of us, supplying them with appropriate solutions. Communists are faced with major tasks, and must always set an example at work and in the activity of society. However, all of the working people, the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, cadres, and specialists are also faced with major tasks. They must all acquaint themselves with the documents of this plenum.

We are faced with the task of the faster development of production and culture. Major steps forward must be taken in industry, agriculture, culture, science, the military training of the people, and in strengthening our readiness to defend the homeland. All of these things cannot be achieved without the participation of the masses in drawing up the policies of the party and broader initiative from below in the process of implementing them. This is primarily a matter of the creative role of the masses. However, it cannot be achieved without removing from our midst the bureaucratic obstacles that exist, without abolishing the regulations which time has rendered obsolete, and replacing them with new, encouraging norms in labor and social activity.

In order to find the most advantageous solutions for the problems posed by life, we must subject ourselves to the judgment of the masses, in constructive debate with working people. The masses must express their views freely. This may affect the interests of certain individuals; however, that is good for socialism. No view which serves the common good must be left unaired. Our people, at work and outside their work, are continually preoccupied with the questions of development. They have plenty of ideas about the smooth running of the enterprises, cooperatives, or institutions where they work. Nobody knows better than the lumberjacks and other working people of the forestry enterprise what must be done to manage the forests, about the most

profitable use of timber, its conservation, and the preservation and strengthening of this great resource of national wealth. Nobody knows better than the working people in the mines how the copper, chrome, and coal industries can produce more, and how can we reduce waste and increase yields.

Our working people are not lacking in a creative spirit, nor in readiness to help promote socialism by airing their views. We must create the necessary conditions for their creativity to be expressed. It is precisely the working people who know what changes must be introduced in every field, from ministerial orders to labor legislation and the system of wages and incentives. It is emancipated people who respect logic who enjoy creative debate and the discussion of economic problems with the masses, not people who simply like their own views. This debate needs well-founded arguments and vigor in a spirit of social tolerance and cooperation. Debate means a joint quest for the truth, not arguing with people and snubbing them.

The decisions of the Eighth Party Central Committee Plenum are not just for today or this year. They are decisions that open prospects, that will guide work for strengthening the party in the 5-year period and for whole decades. However, there is no need to wait for weeks or months before embarking on this revolutionary work; not a day must be lost. Everybody, on his own section of the front, must decide how he will respond to the decisions made by the plenum. The party issued a call to communists and all the working people to hurl themselves into action at once in order to give a fresh impetus to the vigor of the masses and to improve the state of affairs everywhere. The revolutionary spirit of the decisions made by the party will be expressed in the economic results which will be achieved. [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready!"]

The tasks which lie ahead of our society at our present stage of socialist construction are difficult and complex. They can only be carried out with the united efforts of the party and the people. Here lies our need for unity, as the major motive power of socialism. We must strengthen the economy, raise the standards of our cultural work, and improve the people's living standards by overcoming the various difficulties that emerge, and riding above the waves of the general ideological diversions aimed against us. The strengthening of moral and political unity between the party and the people is dictated by this entire complex of internal factors, but also by the situation abroad. This situation, dear comrades, can be confronted with labor, with vigilance, by strengthening further the victories of socialism, raising higher the effectiveness of our social order, and improving our military preparedness and the defense of our socialist homeland.

Dear comrades, our entire country is at present optimistic, following the positive results achieved in the economy, culture and the defense of the homeland. The party and people are approaching the 45th anniversary of the liberation in an atmosphere of all-round success. This year was replete with achievements, thanks to the labor and determination of the masses, correctly lead by the party. This is a time for culture, initiative, and pride in one's work to flourish, and for the spirit of victory and revolutionary enthusiasm that is the meaning of our socialist life.

From my heart, I express the wish that you all, working people of Puke, will do honor to yourselves and your district by showing yourselves to be among the most advanced.

May the victories of socialism be raised higher and higher. Long live the workers class and the people of Puke District. Long live the Albanian Workers Party. [cheers]

Western 'Ideological Subversion' Criticized

AU2310113389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Futile Efforts"]

[Text] Life in our country is taking place under the influence of a qualitatively profound and comprehensive transformation. Constantly improving socialism in our country is the essence of the party's July course. Nobody and nothing can divert us from this course.

We are restructuring our economy, the legal superstructure, and the intellectual and social spheres. We are resolving the issue of the government and the political system in a new manner. Conditions are being created for constantly expanding socialist democracy, releasing the socialist initiative of everyone, and better satisfying the people's material and intellectual needs. This is the road toward increasing the people's standard of living and reaching the goal we have set ourselves—to turn Bulgaria into a developed and civilized socialist state.

Naturally, restructuring our country is a complex, difficult, and occasionally contradictory process. It encounters many difficulties of a subjective and objective character, and various opinions and interests. International factors are influencing it. Recent months convinced us that certain Western foreign forces are trying to give it a different direction by using various forms and means of ideological subversion, forcing their recipes on us, and concealing their real intentions behind mechanical comparisons with other models and events in other countries.

Other attempts have been made to change our social system and political course, but they all proved futile. Recently a new trump card was used—the Bulgarian Muslim citizens. Having crossed the boundaries of human ethics and international law the anti-Bulgarian propaganda provoked anti-social manifestations and a mass exodus to Turkey. We had many difficulties. We had to repudiate many lies and slanders. However, the result was contrary to the expectations of the stage directors of this dishonest political spectacle, and first, the pan-Turkists. Those provocations represented a rude interference in our internal affairs and attempt against Bulgaria's sovereignty.

Unfortunately, there also were Bulgarian citizens, who accompanied, and are continue to accompany the anti-Bulgarian propaganda and foreign radio stations, serve foreign interests, defame their people, and slander socialist Bulgaria. Some of them are people without a motherland [bezotechestvenitsi], who are using the microphones of the foreign radio stations. Others raise antisocialist slogans. Others yet, disseminate various rumors, speculate with the objective difficulties, play the demagogues in defaming holy things such as our national ideals, the human rights, and the protection of the environment. Indeed, this is an abuse of the constantly expanding democratic rights and freedoms in our country and a part of the script related to diverting restructuring in our country toward a different direction.

Those attempts are futile. Our people are united and rallied in their striving toward the goals. Our party is leading them. Our socialist society was achieved with the sacrifices that accompanied three insurrections and long-lasting struggles, and constructed with much deprivation, selflessness, and dreams. It is cherished by all and is very dear to us. Our party achieved the great respect of our people with its deeds in the name of their happiness and prosperity. It has already been responsible to the people for one century, and will continue to fulfill its mission to the end. We have a democratic and low-governed state, which has all the forces and means to defend its sovereignty, socialism, and its citizens' real rights and freedoms. It will not allow the destructive forces to stop our development along the road chosen by the people. Everyone who erroneously interprets our tolerance for the various manifestations of pluralism, or directs them against the policy of the further and consistent perfection of socialism, is making a mistake.

Our people have the self-confidence, dignity, and force to oppose every attempt to divert us from this road and ensure the necessary order, discipline, organization, and responsibility, because without them there can be no social and personal prosperity, or real democracy. Our people have the right, wisdom, maturity, and responsibility to resolve their issues and destiny alone. This is the right of every free nation.

Joint Stock Company Established With USSR

AU2010192389 Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—At the Council of Ministers today several agreements were signed between Bulgarian companies and Soviet scientific and production associations, by which a concrete step is made to the realization of the new economic model of relations between the two countries.

The first Bulgaro-Soviet joint stock company was founded which is to deal with financing, elaboration, production and trade with automated control systems in the aviation, chemical, alimentary, biotechnological and cellulose and paper industry, with household electronics and other consumer goods. From the Bulgarian part the shareholders are the companies "Incoms", "Microprocessor Systems", Pravets and "Systembiochim" while on the Soviet part the "Moskva" Scientific and Production Association.

The Bulgarian and the Soviet sides participate with 40 per cent of the capitals each, while the remaining 20 per cent will be offered by leading Western companies.

Agreements were signed for joint projects in the sphere of airplane building. Bulgaria will participate in the

electronization and the production of small propeller planes, of helicopters for civic needs and of the heavy transport aircraft "Mria".

It is planned that the Soviet Union will import to Bulgaria airplanes as against Bulgarian electronic and computer technique and systems for automated projecting of over 700 million rubles [sentence as received]. The cooperation will rapidly increase in the production of electronic modules for the alimentary and light industry.

An agreement was signed for joint production of household electronic technique. The aim is as early as next year to turnout production for over 500 million rubles.

Documents were endorsed by Mr Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and by Mr Apollon Systsov, minister of the aviation industry.

Zhivkov Receives Komi ASSR Premier

AU2010135689 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Mr Vyacheslav Khudyayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. He is paying a visit here at the invitation of Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The interlocutors exchanged information on the processes of restructuring which are taking place in Bulgaria and the USSR. It was said that the identity in principle of the objectives and tasks of renewal in all spheres of life open new wider opportunities for the development and deepening of political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries.

Significant attention was lent to cooperation between Bulgaria and the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Mr Todor Zhivkov highly esteemed this long-standing mutually advantageous cooperation and stressed that it is contributing to the solution of some economic and social problems.

The guest stressed the great significance of the further deepening of relations with Bulgaria as a constituent part of the process of fruitful and versatile cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR.

Pact Signed

AU2310210189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 89 p 6

[BTA report: "Cooperation Strengthens"]

[Text] New forms and directions of cooperation not only in the economic, but also in the social and cultural spheres, were the subject of the talks between delegations led by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Vyacheslav Khudyayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], which took place on 19 October.

The unanimous opinion was expressed that diversifying cooperation through modern forms and introducing the front-ranking production experience and scientific-technical achievements must aim at satisfying the needs and further increasing the prosperity of the two republics' peoples.

A program on developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation and cultural relations between Bulgaria and the Komi ASSR during the 1989-95 period and until the year 2005 was adopted.

The document notes that the two countries will cooperate in further expanding contacts between trusts, companies, enterprises, and organizations in Bulgaria and the Komi ASSR. Direct production and scientific-technical relations will be established, joint enterprises and trusts will be founded, and trade exchange as well as the exchange of production experience and information will expand.

The program specifies the main directions of this cooperation in the timber and timber processing industries on the territory of the Komi ASSR, the production of furniture, the cellulose-paper and light industries, and mineral and natural resources.

The trends of strengthening and enriching cooperation in the areas of culture, education, sports, tourism, and leisure have been outlined.

The ceremony of signing the program was attended by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. He gave an official dinner in honor of Vyacheslav Khudyayev, chairman of the Komi ASSR Council of Ministers. The dinner was attended by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations; Georgi Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR; and Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires at the USSR Embassy in Sofia.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Send Condolences to PRC

AU2310113789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent a message to Yang Shangkum, PRC president; Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; and Li Peng, State Council premier, in connection with the earthquake in the Hebei, Shanxi, and Inner Mongolia Provinces, which caused much material damage and many casualties. The message expresses most sincere sympathy and addresses deep condolences to the families and relatives of the casualties.

Pakistan's Bhutto Discusses Bilateral Relations

AU2010134789

[Editorial report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 18 October on pages 1 and 4 carries a 3,200-word undated interview by the newspaper's representative V. Georgiev with Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of Pakistan and chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, in Islamabad. the interview is accompanied by a photograph and a 150-word biographical note.

Ms Bhutto is first asked to describe the main tasks facing her government. In her view, these are to restore the people's confidence in the country, reestablish effective democratic institutions, and guarantee individual liberty and security, as well as to develop a long-term policy for economic reconstruction.

Asked her views on the best ways to ensure peace and security in Asia in general and South Asia in particular, Bhutto states her conviction that regional disputes can best be resolved by negotiation within the framework of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, as well as by further stimulating bilateral dialogue. She also advocates other measures "connected in particular with lessening the military potential of the states in South Asia through balanced reduction, which lessens the sense of mutual threat and builds up a feeling of security." Asked to comment on Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and on the effects of the Geneva accords concerning Afghanistan, Bhutto states that the speeches "represent a breakthrough, and we welcome and support his inspired approach, which means a fresh view of old problems." She also praises Gorbachev's November 1986 declaration in Delhi, "which stresses the meed for good-neighborly relations between Pakistan and the USSR," but makes no comment whatsoever on the implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

Regarding relations with Bulgaria, Bhutto says that they are of long standing and marked by cordiality and understanding, their chief characteristic being that "they are free of any contentious bilateral problems." She then reviews the good links existing between the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the Pakistan People's Party, and concludes by describing at length her party's main domestic tasks in the field of agricultural reform.

Government Debates 1990 National Draft Plan

AU2310120989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 89 pp 1,6

[Dimitur Deliyski report: "With Demands for New Approaches"]

[Text] It will be no mistake if I stress at the very beginning that the 2-day session of the Council of Ministers that ended on 18 October turned into a comprehensive expert discussion in depth of the predistributed documents: the draft plan for Bulgaria's scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development in 1990 and the 1990 draft budget. Apart from the members of the government, the participants in the discussion included chairmen of the oblast people's councils, leaders of associations and other central departments, and specialists. It is of some interest to note that this was not the first discussion of the two draft documents, nor were these the first versions of the documents that the government will submit for approval at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

The approach adopted by the Council of Ministers in this instance requires some explanation. We have become accustomed to regarding the preparation and adoption of the annual plans as a routine procedure, and to expecting them to ensure prescribed rates of growth (usually the same for the relevant branches of industry and national economic complexes), provide the necessary allocations of resources, and give us basic guidelines in investment, scientific- technical, and social policies. This is in fact also the case with the present draft documents. If we speak of a special approach, it is because the viewpoints revealed during both the preparing of the documents and their discussion were based on completely new requirements. Prime emphasis was given to the strategy of giving priority to resolving certain fundamental problems in our economy.

The first of these problems concerns the structural and technological renewal of the national economy. To refer to the premises of the July Concept, this is the objective necessity of building up production forces of a new type which conform to the realities and trends in world economic development. Naturally, this goal is no easy one, and the radical structural change will not be completed in a year or two. However, a start must be made, and the draft plan under discussion creates conditions for this. It is true that we will have to make major investments, but we also need specific ideas and specific perceptions. The principles and policy to be followed in resolving this problem have been elucidated, and priority must now be given to the actions required to implement them.

The partiality shown by many of the participants in the discussion (in which 32 people stated their views) was understandable, especially when the subject concerns capital and other investments; each speaker presented arguments in defense of his own ideas and explained the grounds for his claims and needs. The views of the "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Association, as put forward by its chairman, Khristo Bonin, may seem extreme to some, but to others they may appear quite logical. However, the idea that the present situation at the "Kremikovtsi" Company, for example, cannot be further tolerated, is scarcely a topic for dispute. Nor can there be any doubt that the construction and building industry also requires radical technological renewal; the arguments offered by Lyuben Petrov, the association's acting chairman, were convincing enough, if only because of the fact that the entire restructuring of the economy will largely depend on the state of this complex.

It is still too early to guess which of the ideas, proposals, and demands for additional funds will be included in the final drafts of the plan and budget, or which of them will be approved by the National Assembly. The state's possibilities are not unlimited. This is indeed why the priorities are set, and this is also why there are increasing demands for the companies to play a real part in resolving the problem of the economy's structural and technological renewal. In submitting themselves to the requirements of the socialist market economy and the demands of the international market, our companies will have to reorient their investment and production policies.

If we accept that the draft plan and budget are based on three main foundations, the second of these is undoubtedly the attitude of our goods producers to the manufacture of consumer goods or, to put it in the most general terms, to the market. It is sufficient to point out that it is envisaged that the relative share of consumer goods in total production will rise from 29.8 percent this year to 35 percent next year. The idea of the social reorientation of our national economy is clearly embodied in this goal. The resources for this have been provided, as Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, emphasized, and these resources create conditions for guaranteed manufacture of the planned products for the domestic market and for export, according to the estimates of the state plan. We have the production facilities available, especially in machine building, where they are being used far below their peak capacities; a large part of our production has a high materials and energy content; and much remains to be done in order to ensure that labor resources are efficiently utilized.

It was logical for the discussion of the economic regulators, which has been going on throughout the country for some months, to be reflected in the 2-day meeting organized by the Council of Ministers, all the more so because there was a specific reason for this: As well as the above-mentioned two documents, a draft decree of the Council of Ministers "on creating a suitable economic climate for achieving the outlined goals for the country's socioeconomic development in 1990" was also submitted to the participants. Apparently, despite the application of Decree No. 56, a number of features in our current practice fail to fully resolve the problems connected with the company-based approach to production organization. The example given by Ivan Tenev, chairman of the "Electronics" Association, is illustrative: If the companies in this complex switch to producing consumer electronics products (which is an absolute requirement!), almost all their profits will be taken away from them in the form of taxes, trade discounts, and other payments. Moreover, this year these same companies have seen 14 million leva of their profits disappear into the trading network (as trade discounts), leaving them only 6 million leva for their own needs.

If the discussion was heated at times, this does not mean that either side lacked good arguments. There was no doubt that every participant in the debate was highly competent. In this sense, the summing up made by Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov does not mark the end of the discussion. In his words, the 2-day session of broad discussion forms a good basis for drawing up a realistic draft plan for submission to the National Assembly for its approval. This plan must enable us to resolve the immediate tasks and to alter the situation, in order to create more favorable conditions to ensure the structural and technological renewal of the economy, to sharply increase the supply of goods to the market, and to create an economic environment for consolidating and further developing the company-based organization of production. According to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the 1990 plan must guarantee the conditions for the next 5-year-plan period, when the new processes in the country's socioeconomic development will manifest themselves more fully and produce more results.

In conclusion, I would like to inform our readers that the 1990 draft plan includes no provisions for altering the retail prices of the basic goods and services that determine the population's living standard.

Failings Noted in Sofia Plan Results

AU2110204289 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 19 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] On 17 October the Bureau of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] held a meeting in which the first secretaries of the city's municipal BCP committees also took part.

The meeting assessed the party-political work on fulfilling the plan for Sofia's scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development during the first 9 months of 1989. It was pointed out that despite the difficulties, as a result of the patriotic upsurge and the conscientious attitude of the Communists and workers, the plan was successfully fulfilled in respect of the main volume and quality indexes. The plan for total industrial production was fulfilled by 102.3 percent, representing 75.7 percent of the annual task and an annual rate of 104.8 percent. The annual plans for aggregate profit and net output were fulfilled by 80.5 and 76.4 percent respectively, representing annual rates of 114.7 and 110.5 percent. Material expenditures were reduced by 2.8 percentage points. The rise in social labor productivity outstripped the increase in average wages by 8.1 percentage points.

Notable contributions to these results were made by the Sredets, Vuzrazhdane, Oborishte, Serdika, Poduyane, Chervena Zvezda, Mladost, Vitosha, Ovcha Kupel, and Bankya Municipalities. The Bureau of the Sofia City BCP Committee pointed out that the work in the capital's economy during this period was accompanied by a number of unfavorable phenomena and trends, some of which had intensified. The state orders for some types of products are still not being fulfilled, and there is an increase in the number of enterprises that are failing to fulfill their own plans. The introduction of basic production facilities is not proceeding according to the commissioning programs, and there are lags in the construction

of important installations for the technological and structural renewal of the capital's economy. No positive change has occurred in the fulfillment of the plan for housing construction. During the 9-month period 6,711 housing units were handed over, representing 39 percent of the annual task. The practical changes regarding exports and foreign exchange receipts are minimal. The discrepancy between the supply and demand for goods in the city's consumer market is increasing. From the statistical viewpoint, the results in Sofia for the January-September period were good. The output of goods for the domestic market amounted to 1,968 million leva, which represents 76.9 percent of the annual tasks and a rate of 109.5 percent. The value of goods turnover during the period was 2,566 million leva, representing 75.8 percent of the annual plan and a rate of 107.8 percent. At the same time, there was no perceptible positive change in the market. The agricultural organizations around the capital failed to supply the contracted amounts of milk and meat.

The permitted weaknesses and emerging negative trends are caused by insufficient activity and drive in the work in the conditions of economic restructuring. [passage omitted]

The Bureau of the Sofia City BCP Committee expressed its dissatisfaction with the work and level of activity of the following companies and divisions:

—"Balkankar" and the Metal-Cutting Machines Plant, in relation to expanding the market and creating a new competitive product structure;

—the Kremikovtsi Combine, for tardiness in speeding up the restructuring of production in line with the new conditions for supply of raw materials;

—the Metal-Cutting Machines Plant, "Microelectronics," "Special Chemicals Combine," "Public Construction," "Tekhnostroy," "Minstroy," "Building Facing Materials," "Tekhnoprogres," and "Khidrostroy," for failures to introduce new basic production facilities; and

—"Gradostroitel," Sofia Housebuilding Combine, and "Stroitel," for failures in fulfilling the housing program.

The following were required to answer to the party for unsatisfactory work in fulfilling the capital's housing program: Boycho Aleksiev, chairman of the Commission for Architecture and Construction of Sofia City People's Council; Viktor Sharkov, general director of the "Sofinvest" Company; and Petur Grigorov, general director of the Sofia Housebuilding Combine.

The following persons were also called upon to answer to the party: Tsvetan Karapetkov, general director of the Sofia Vehicle Combine, for inadequate organization of transportation to supply food products, fruit, and vegetables to the capital's market; and Penka Khristova, chairman of the Dr Ivan Pashov Cooperative Farm, Stoycho Stoychev, chairman of the Kazichene Cooperative Farm, and Panayot Panayotov, chairman of the Gorni Bogrov Cooperative Farm, for failure to fulfill the plan for milk supplies. [passage omitted]

Other matters were also discussed, regarding which the Bureau of the Sofia City BCP Committee adopted appropriate decisions.

Independent New Companies Require Support

AU2010132689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Companies' Responsibility"]

[Text] Every beginning, every cause has its initiators, and also has the people who carry it out. The structural renewal of our economy, as a primary task in the restructuring of Bulgarian society, depends most of all on the work of the companies and their ability to orient themselves in the world economy and seek and find their places in it, by utilizing the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The company-based organization has created the main prerequisites for radical changes in the management of production and the whole of Bulgarian economic life. The normative documents that have been adopted are indeed filled with revolutionary content and represent a decisive step forward in developing and further improving our socialist society. The past months have provided proof of the need for and the timeliness of these documents, but at the same time there are a number of shortcomings in their application. We also face the task of perfecting these documents by stages in the future.

What the companies need most of all, in order to develop their activities and start on a radical renewal of their entire work, are funds. Unfortunately, the practice is continuing of the superior organizations seizing part of the profits realized. In so doing, these organizations not only contravene the official directives, but also seriously encroach upon the companies' rights, removing their opportunities to resolve their development problems independently, and taking away their initiative.

It is well-known that a proportion of the companies are in an unfavorable financial position. Some of these are unable even to allocate the means determined by the government to the "Development and Technical Renewal" Fund. Bearing in mind that depreciation payments are also made from this fund, we can assess what possibilities the companies have of conducting really effective investment and production policies. It is true that possibilities exist of attracting capital from shareholders and obtaining bank credits, but at the present stage these possibilities are not very great.

The experience of successful companies shows that scientific-technical and development activities are the chief guarantee for their success. For example, the products of the Finnish pharmaceutical industry enjoy worldwide

demand. This standard has mainly been achieved as a result of the development of research work in this industrial sector. In percentage terms, the Finnish pharmaceutical industry allocates eight times more funds for research needs than the average for industry as a whole. Analysis of the results of the activities of a number of U.S., Japanese, and other foreign companies shows that they direct about 10 percent of their profits into research and development work. In Bulgaria, the amounts allocated to the "Development and Technical Renewal" funds vary from 1 to 8 percent in different branches of industry, and in some cases this obligation is not fulfilled at all.

In this situation, in order to make the companies a real motive force for restructuring our economy, we must first and foremost eliminate the harmful practice of the seizure of profits by the superior organizations in excess of the legally permitted amounts, under various guises. The companies must be given the chance to breathe, in order that they can live and develop.

For its own part, the state must more resolutely exercise its regulatory and guiding functions through economic means, and solidly support initiatives that can ensure successes in the international market. Where necessary, substantial financial allowances or investments may be made in order to really help the companies to show what they can do.

The concrete initiatives for the structural renewal of our economy must primarily come from below, that is to say, from the companies. The companies therefore carry a great responsibility for this cause, which is of such immense importance for our future. At the same time, they must also be given every kind of help, at least at the present stage, in carrying out their obligations to society. They are required to make their own decisive contribution to meeting the demands of the market, and we ought be able to see the results of this next year. At the same time, they must ensure great efficiency in their work, this being one of the main requirements for the structural renewal of the economy.

PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat Visits 18-19 Oct

RUDE PRAVO Coverage

AU2210173089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Vaclav Bervida report: "Yasir 'Arafat Is Making An Official Friendly Visit to the CSSR; Cordial Welcome for Leading Representative of the Palestinian Revolution"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and President of Palestine, flew into Prague on Wednesday morning [18 October] for an official friendly visit to the CSSR. The visit is being carried out at the invitation of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president. A meeting also took place in Prague on Wednesday between Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat. At the end of the meeting, both representatives signed an agreement on cooperation between the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the PLO Executive Committee. The CSSR President conferred the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, 1st Class, with chain, upon Yasir 'Arafat.

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, Zbynek Zalman, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and Milan Kymlicka, Czech Socialist Republic minister of culture, participated in the proceedings on behalf of the Czechoslovak side. Mahmud Darvish and Abdallah Haurani, members of the PLO Executive Committee, and Mahmud Naufal and Tajsir Kubba, members of the Palestine National Council and the PLO Central Council, participated on behalf of the Palestinian side.

In a cordial and friendly conversation, both senior representatives discussed a wide range of international, regional, bilateral, and other issues.

Their views concurred on the current new trends in the international situation, a situation which is characterized by a relaxation of tension, specific progress in the disarmament sphere, and by a reduction in the risk of nuclear catastrophe. However, at the same time, some negative trends from the past still persist—attempts to use force and a lack of understanding for actuality.

In this connection, Comrade Milos Jakes briefed his guest on the active approach of Czechoslovak foreign policy toward resolving the global problems of today's world, and he emphasized the significance of the European dimension of our foreign political policy. He referred to the shortsightedness and danger of that conduct which has many times openly asserted fundamental changes to the postwar set up on the European Continent, conduct which does not respect the existing territorial and political arrangement, and which, thus, threatens stability in Europe as well as the further progress of the promisingly developing pan-European process.

Yasir 'Arafat briefed his host in detail about the current situation in the effort to resolve the conflict in the Middle East—one of the most complicated regional conflicts—which has the Palestinian issue at its core. He spoke about the PLO's clear standpoint on the various concepts for resolving the situation in the territories occupied by Israel. In connection with the 10-point plan put forward by Muhammad Husni Mubarak, the Egyptian president, and with the subsequent American initiatives, he verified the standpoint of the recent PLO Central Council session in Baghdad. The PLO is prepared to conduct a peaceful and matter-of-fact dialogue with whatever interested party, however, it is necessary to regard such a procedure as one of the prerequisites for holding an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, an institution which continues to provide the most suitable framework for comprehensively and justly dealing with the entire problem. The PLO will continue with its extensive peace initiative which has already brought a number of positive elements. However, it will not make concessions on its fundamental principles, the principles for which generations of Palestinians have struggled, and are still struggling. The Palestinian people have absolutely and unequivocally confirmed their resolve during the current popular uprising in the occupied territories.

Milos Jakes briefed Yasir 'Arafat on the current situation in the CSSR. In connection with the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, he outlined the current stage of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the broad democratization of social life. He highly praised the PLO's political line as an expression of the realism and practical application of the new tendencies in resolving regional conflicts. Yasir 'Arafat expressed his gratitude to the Czechoslovak people for their continuing support and assistance in the just struggle for the fulfillment of the Palestinians' inalienable national rights.

At the end of their meeting, both representatives signed an agreement on cooperation between the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the PLO Executive Committee, as well as a procedural protocol on the agreement. Both documents bank on the proven traditions of Czechoslovak-Palestinian relations and cooperation. The documents proceed from these experiences and even establish some new forms of cooperation and collaboration in the political sphere, in further economic contacts, in cultural ties, and in the matter of Czechoslovak humanitarian and material support for the PLO.

At 1100, a special aircraft with the Palestinian guests on board landed at Ruzyne Airport, which was decorated with state flags. Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak welcomed Yasir 'Arafat and his entourage at the

aircraft's steps. Jozef Lenart and Miroslav Stepan, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission, participated in the welcoming ceremony.

The Palestinian and Czechoslovak national anthems were played. After a report from the commander of the honor guard and after reviewing the guard, Yasir 'Arafat was welcomed by representatives from the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the CSSR Government, Federal Government ministers, the deputy chairwoman of the Czech National Council, and other officials from our political and public life. Samih Abdal Fattah, Palestinian ambassador to the CSSR, and staff from the representative mission were also present.

Gustav Husak received Yasir 'Arafat on Wednesday in Prague Castle. In a matter-of-fact and cordial conversation, both statesmen appraised the good results of the development of Czechoslovak-Palestinian relations to date and expressed their support for the further intensification of comprehensive ties and cooperation. This was confirmed by the agreement on cooperation between the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the PLO Executive Committee.

Yasir 'Arafat briefed his guest on the current situation in the Middle East, on the Palestinian resistance movement, and on the development of the unarmed popular uprising in the territories occupied by Israel. He emphasized the Palestinian people's resolve to continue in the just struggle for their legal rights and for the fulfillment of their right to self-determination, including the right to their own independent state. Gustav Husak appraised the PLO's constructive line in dealing with the conflict in the Middle East and with the Palestinian issue, a line confirmed at last year's 19th session of the Palestinian National Council. This line has gained widespread support and also has our support. The CSSR gives its thorough support to resolving the conflict in the Middle East by means of the convention of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties, including the PLO as the only legal representative of the Palestinian people. Both statesmen emphasized their resolve to strive for the comprehensive development of friendship between the Czechoslovak and the Palestinian people.

Gustav Husak conferred the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, 1st Class, with the chain, upon Yasir 'Arafat on Wednesday evening in Prague Castle.

Gustav Husak stated that the honor had been conferred upon Yasir 'Arafat on the occasion of his first official friendly visit to the CSSR in his post as President of Palestine as an expression of the respect and friendship for the Palestinian people's struggle for their national freedom and their state independence. For many years this struggle has been associated with your name, he said. He appraised the personal courage of the Palestinian president and of all the Palestinian people as well as Yasir 'Arafat's great share in the development of mutual relations.

In reply, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and the President of Palestine expressed his sincere gratitude for the honor that had been conferred upon him. He said that he regards it not only as an expression of recognition for himself but for all the Palestinian people and as an honor from true friends, an honor which the Palestinian people greatly appreciate.

Comrades Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Jaroslav Hajn, Frantisek Hanus, Vasil Mohorita, Miroslava Nemcova, Jindrich Polednik, Bohuslav Kucera, and Zbynek Zalman also participated in the ceremonial event.

Members of Yasir 'Arafat's entourage and Samih Abdal Fattah, Palestinian ambassador to the CSSR, were present.

In the evening, Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak hosted a gala dinner in honor of Yasir 'Arafat. Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat made speeches at the dinner.

The participants in the ceremonial event were also present when Yasir 'Arafat received his honor. Secretaries from the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, the heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments, representatives of the CSSR and Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committees, the deputy chairmen of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council, and the deputy chairmen and ministers from the CSSR and Czech Socialist Republic Governments were also among the guests.

During the afternoon, Yasir 'Arafat, accompanied by Jozef Lenart, visited the National Memorial in Zizkov in Prague.

Jakes Dinner Speech

AU2210170389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Speech delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a gala dinner held in Prague on 18 October in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, president of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee; dear Palestinian guests; comrades:

Allow me to cordially welcome you to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. We welcome you as an honored guest and as the most senior representative of the State of Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the

heroic Palestinian people who, by continuing their uprising on the occupied territories, embody the desire for freedom, a national identity, and an independent state. I am taking this opportunity to once more assure you and all the Palestinian people of the warm sympathies that the Czechoslovak people harbor toward your struggle and of our solidarity. At the same time, we proceed from the right of each nation to self-determination and from the historical experiences that our people have drawn in their long struggles to achieve national independence and Czechoslovak statehood.

I can report with pleasure on the growing activity in our mutual relations. Our talks today have also confirmed the friendly and constructive spirit of our traditional cooperation. We are pleased with the mutual concurrence of views on the issues of a bilateral or global-political nature that were discussed between us. Today we signed important documents—the agreement on cooperation between the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the PLO Executive Committee, as well as the procedural protocol on this agreement which, without a doubt, will expand and further enhance the forms of our cooperation to date.

We appreciate the political line that the PLO is implementing under your leadership and which is winning widespread international support for the Palestinian people's just struggle. This line, in our opinion, corresponds to today's needs and to the new political thinking that is being asserted in international relations. This has been manifested, among other things, by the fact that the State of Palestine has been recognized by more than 100 countries. The PLO's international authority has also increased. It is a generally recognized fact that without the PLO a permanent solution to the Middle East conflict cannot possibly be achieved. The Palestinian people's uprising has given a new impetus to the renewal of international efforts to end the conflict in the Middle East. The Israeli occupiers' terror and brutality cannot suppress the Palestinian people's resolve to live in a free sovereign state. We regard the convention of a conference on the Middle East as the optimum way of resolving this complicated and long-running conflict on the basis of the recognition of the equality of interests, of respect for the legal rights of all participating parties, and of the freedom for their further development.

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, comrades: At present we are witnesses to and active participants in the restructuring of international relations. There has been some success in improving the international atmosphere and in reducing the risk of nuclear war. This fills us with optimism. However, we look realistically upon the international situation. It continues to be complicated. Elements of pressure, confrontationist approaches, and the attempt to preach to others still persist. We witness this in Europe in particular. I would like to stress that any attempt to alter the postwar arrangement in Europe and attempts to cast doubts upon the existing political and territorial reality are incompatible with the Helsinki Final Act and threaten dangerous consequences for peace and stability not only in Europe.

Political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian problems are today interconnected to such a degree that we can only resolve them jointly and comprehensively. Therefore, Czechoslovakia has become the coauthor of the socialist countries' initiatives aimed at implementing a comprehensive approach to the issues of international peace and security. Our specific contribution to a safer and more peaceful world, as well as to the construction of a common European home is the proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. We fully support the Warsaw Pact countries' peaceful proposals and their measures to reduce tension and confrontation in Europe; we are implementing these measures ourselves.

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, comrades: You came to Czechoslovakia at a time when the efforts of the whole of our society are directed toward the practical fulfillment of the program of economic and social restructuring and toward the broad democratization of the country's political and social life. We have set ourselves a demanding task—to carry out restructuring with all its complexities in such a way that Czechoslovakia's stable social and economic development will not be disrupted. The aim of our effort is to boost socialism in our country and to contribute to strengthening its position and prestige on an international scale. We also see significant support in this for those forces in the world that are, up to the present day, struggling for social progress, national liberation, and independence.

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat: I want to assure you that the PLO and the Palestinian people can continue to count on our complete support and solidarity.

In conclusion, please accept our sincere wishes for many more successes in the difficult struggle to achieve the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights.

Allow me to toast the firm and lasting friendship between the Czechoslovak and Palestinian people.

I raise my glass to you, Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and president of Palestine, to all our Palestinian friends, and to everyone present.

'Arafat Dinner Speech

AU2310115889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Speech delivered by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and president of the State of Palestine, at a gala dinner held in his honor in Prague on 18 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and

chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee; Esteemed Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR president; dear comrades and dear friends:

I am very pleased to be in fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia today as the guest of its people and its wise leadership. On behalf of our Arab people of Palestine, on behalf of the members of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee, and on my own behalf, I would like to cordially thank you for the warm reception and for the kind words of welcome that greeted us here in your beautiful capital city—golden Prague.

Our Palestinian people note with gratitude and appreciation the solidarity that the fraternal Czechoslovak people are providing them in their just struggle and in their uprising for an end to Israeli occupation and for the right to return to their homeland, for self- determination, and for the establishment of their own independent state with its capital in holy Jerusalem under the leadership of the PLO as its only legal representative. You transformed this solidarity and support into fact especially when Czechoslovakia, as one of the first fraternal countries, recognized the declaration of the State of Palestine on 15 November last year. At the same time, you raised the PLO's diplomatic mission in Prague to the level of Embassy of the State of Palestine. That is the greatest evidence of your conviction that the Palestinian people's state irrefutably exists and that Israeli occupation will, without a doubt, come to an end.

Our people's courageous uprising will soon enter into its third year. Our people continue to be firmly united and are filled with the self-confidence and resolve to make the greatest sacrifices for their national rights, freedom, and independence. They will not be foiled in this by murder, tyranny, and imprisonment, by the demolition of their homes, the confiscation of their property and land, the closure of their schools, the attempts to wipe them out, the construction of Zionist settlements on their land, deportation, economic blockades, and the other inhuman practices that the Israeli occupation forces are carrying out against them. Through this uprising the Palestinian revolution has entered into a new phase highlighted by the bold initiative and the flexible and realistic policy whose basis was put forward at the 19th session of the Palestinian National Council. Its aim is to move the peace process forward and to boost our orientation toward a lasting and comprehensive solution to the crisis in the Middle East and the problem at its core—the Palestinian issue. We continue to be of the opinion that a suitable framework for guaranteeing this solution is an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties in the conflict, including the PLO and Israel.

Therefore, we stress the necessity of quickly establishing a preparatory committee for this conference and also the naming of a special UN general secretary envoy for Middle East issues. We also continue to point out that we are willing to conduct a preliminary dialogue with whatever involved party, a dialogue that will lead to an international conference. In our peace initiative, we have turned to the Israeli rulers with an appeal that they proceed in harmony with the spirit of the time and with the positive changes in the international atmosphere. We also called upon them to meet halfway the rational proposals which various parties are putting forward, proposals which proceed from the UN resolutions and international law and which concur with the interests of peace, security, and the development of all Middle East nations, including that of the Palestinian people.

Our peace initiative was welcomed and appreciated by the United Nations and by all the regional and international organizations. It was rejected only by Israel which enjoys unlimited support from the U.S. Administration. The alleged peace proposals, put forward by the Israeli rulers and which deny Palestinian national rights, merely have the aim of stalling for time and are banking on the suppression of the Palestinian uprising. We welcome the proposal to set up free and democratic elections as an inseparable element of the comprehensive peace process and the withdrawal of Israeli occupation and under international supervision. We supported a solution that could resemble the Namibian one, a solution which would guarantee a just peace. The United States agreed with such a solution in the case of Namibia but rejects it in the case of Palestine.

Esteemed Comrade Jakes, Esteemed Comrade Husak, dear friends:

Our intensive and sincere efforts to establish peace in our region in order that its peoples might be rid of suffering, war, and destruction fully correspond to the policy of strengthening trust and security and disarmament and cooperation, a policy whose implementation fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia is participating in. During this occasion, we want to once more express our support for and appreciation of the Czechoslovak initiative put forward by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, an initiative which concerns the establishment of a zone of trust, security, and cooperation along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. We also appreciate the Czechoslovak initiative for holding a model conference on the Middle East, which took place in December 1988 in Prague. We highly appreciate the Czechoslovak proposal for a dialogue between the CEMA states and the League of Arab Nations, a proposal with which the League expressed its agreement.

Our joint orientation signifies a contribution to strengthening the foundations of peace, stability, and cooperation in the world, a contribution which depends on the principles of freedom, the national and economic independence of nations and states, noninterference in their internal affairs, and their right to chose their own method of independent development.

We are following with great interest the current process of restructuring in the economic, social, and other spheres that is now under way in the CSSR. We believe that this process, under the CPCZ's leadership, will be successfully culminated for the good and well-being of the fraternal Czechoslovak people in the interest of further advancing the CSSR's significant position in the world.

Esteemed Comrade Jakes, Esteemed Comrade Husak, dear friends:

My visit to your country, which is already the fourth one this year, is the best expression both of the special relations and the profound friendship uniting the Palestinian and Czechoslovak people and their leadership. Prague has a special place in our hearts and minds. This is the city that has always opened its doors to the Palestinian leadership, with its very difficult working conditions, in order that it might meet here with the various parties involved in the Middle East conflict.

Esteemed Comrade President: during this occasion, I would like once more to repeat my gratitude to you for conferring upon me the highest Czechoslovak state honor—the Order of the White Lion, 1st Class, with the chain. This award from your side is, first and foremost, an award from the friendly Czechoslovak people to our Palestinian people for their just struggle and for their heroic uprising for their legal national rights as well as an award in recognition of their initiative role alongside the Czechoslovak people in preserving world peace and in intensifying understanding and cooperation among nations.

In conclusion, allow me once more, and on behalf of all the Palestinian people, to express my gratitude to the fraternal Czechoslovak people for their support for our people's just struggle. Every Palestinian feels warm friendship toward and appreciation for the CSSR and its people with their long cultural and humane traditions.

Allow me, dear comrades, to personally wish you good health and many successes and to wish the fraternal Czechoslovak people further progress and prosperity. Permit me to raise my glass to friendship between the Palestinian and Czechoslovak people.

Departure From Prague

LD1910185489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and president of Palestine, this morning ended his visit in Prague and flew to Bratislava, accompanied by Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

He was seen off at Ruzybe Airport by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee; Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; and other personages.

'Arafat Statement on Talks

LD1910223189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Shortly before leaving Prague for the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Yasir 'Arafat gave an interview to Czechoslovak radio in which he answered a question about how he evaluates the results of talks with our supreme officials:

[Begin recording] ['Arafat in Arabic fading to Czech translation] I would like to stress with pleasure that my talks with the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the president of the republic were positive and constructive. They are yet another testimony to the strong bond which links us with our friends in this country who have always received us so warmly and who have always and on all levels taken a principled stand regarding our just cause.

I do not consider the Order of the White Lion, which was awarded to me, as an expression of respect for me personally, but for all the Palestinians involved in the struggle. I know that the Czechoslovak people as well as their supreme representatives are standing by us as real friends. And as was communicated to me in Prague, our uprising enjoys broad support.

Our talks also involved bilateral relations in all spheres. We also discussed the international situation, on the basis of the changes which are now under way in the context of international detente. We spoke about the situation in Lebanon, especially in southern Lebanon, and about repeated Israeli attacks on Palestinian camps.

We pointed out that the idea of organizing an international peace conference on the Middle East has gained the support of an overwhelming majority of UN members, given that the five permanent members of the Security Council and all involved parties in the region have to participate in it. The conference must secure a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question and the Middle East crisis. This idea received the full support of the socialist states in their statement in Bucharest, as well as that of the EEC countries in their statement in Madrid, and of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Scandinavian countries. This support is also reflected in a clear-cut stand taken by the PRC and in a new stand of Japan, as well as in the stand of the nonaligned countries and the African states.

At present, the Palestinian state has been recognized by more than 115 countries in the world—more than double the number of states which have recognized Israel. This shows how strong the Palestinian position is. It also shows the international isolation of Israel, supported by the United States. The voting on the UN

resolution which condemned Israeli crimes and for which 141 states voted testifies to the same fact.

Despite this isolation, the Israeli Government continues its crimes against our people, our women and children. And without the support of the United States, Israel would not be able to defy the will of the international community in such a way.

We agreed with the Czechoslovak officials on the development of further joint efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East. [end recording]

Issuance of Communique

LD1910224189 Prague CTK in English 2045 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—The declaration of the independent Palestinian state in November 1988 and its recognition by the Czechoslovak side have created favourable conditions for elevating bilateral relations to a new, higher level. A communique on an official friendly visit of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Executive Committee and Palestinian president, which took place on October 18-19, said.

During his visit Yasir 'Arafat held talks with Czechoslovakia's supreme representatives, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak at whose invitation the visit took place.

Dealing with international issues, Yasir 'Arafat and Milos Jakes expressed satisfaction at positive changes linked with gradual implementation of new political thinking in the world politics. They stressed the necessity of further strengthening the policy of detente and ensurance of peace in the world.

The two sides are of the opinion that the means gained by cuts in military expenditures and disarmament should be transferred to the economic and social spheres, the communique said.

Czechoslovakia's contribution to reach these aims is the proposal for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, and the initiative for cooperation among the Central European countries in solving ecological problems.

Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat discussed also the situation in the Middle East. They stated with satisfaction that the political atmosphere in the region has improved to a certain extent due to escalated international efforts. However, concrete results have not been achieved yet due to the destructive attitude of Israel supported by the U.S. Administration.

Just and permanent peace in the Middle East cannot be reached to the detriment of any of the sides involved in the conflict, but only through the respect for the principles of the balance of interests and equal security, the right of the nations to self-determination and a free choice of one's own development. The fundamental prerequisites for it are the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, the recognition of legal rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, return to the country and establishment of an independent state, and acknowledgement of the PLO as the only legal representative of the Palestinian people.

Czechoslovakia highly appreciated the balanced and realistic line of the PLO and called upon Israel for adopting a similarly constructive attitude.

The two sides considered an international conference under the U.N. auspices to be the most suitable framework for a solution to the Middle East crisis, the communique said.

Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat welcomed a ceasefire in Lebanon and expressed full support for the effort of the three-sided Arab League committee aimed at national reconciliation, the preservation of unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

Arrival in Bratislava

LD1910221689 Prague CTK in English 2033 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Bratislava Oct 19 (CTK)—Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee and Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat, currently on an official visit here at the invitation of General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Chairman of the National Front Central Committee Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak, arrived in the Slovak capital of Bratislava today.

In the afternoon the PLO chairman met with Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Slovak National Front Central Committee Ignac Janak. Yasir 'Arafat highly appreciated the efforts of friendly Czechoslovakia for a just peace solution to the Palestinian question. In consequence of the broad support of the progressive forces in the world the people of Palestine have reached a rapid growth of literacy, he underlined.

Yasir 'Arafat also met with member of the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council Viliam Salgovic. Yasir 'Arafat voiced the thankfulness of the Palestinian people for the support from the nations of Czechoslovakia. The two representatives stressed the significance of the further deepening of cooperation in the spheres of joint interest.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 2000 gmt on 19 October reports that "a dinner was given in Bratislava this evening in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and Palestinian president. It was attended by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium

and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and other officials. Ignac Janak, chairman of the Slovak National Front Central Committee and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, and Yasir 'Arafat made speeches at the dinner."]

Conclusion of Visit

LD1910230689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Excerpt] President Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Commitee, left Czechoslovakia this evening. He has been on a 2-day official friendly visit. [passage omitted]

GDR Changes 'Watched With Great Interest'

AU2310120389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Vladimir Plesnik, RUDE PRAVO's Berlin corresondent, in the "We Comment" column: "On the Changes in the GDR"]

[Text] In his speech on Wednesday [18 October], Egon Krenz, the new chairman of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, submitted a rough outline of the further development of the first socialist state on German soil.

Under what circumstances were his words spoken?

In a situation when urgent voices calling for a realistic and sober assessment of everything that has been causing a stir in the country have been permeating the entire public to an unprecendented degree. Despite everything our neighbors have achieved through their diligence, the exemplary organization of their work and their innate cleverness and under the purposeful leadership of the party and state, signals have begun to appear in their public life, signals that until now have been unusual. Warning and disquietening signals. It was as if new stimuli were lacking for the system of a fairly strictly centralized national economy in which combines are decisive central components. The reasons for the departure of about 40,000 citizens as well as the reasons for a number of the recent nighttime demonstrations in the streets of some GDR cities will sooner or later be assessed by our northern neighbors themselves. It is evident, however, that these events clearly exposed dormant social troubles and ailments.

In moments of tension, but also dramatic moments, the party did not let go of the reins of initiative. The statement of the SED Central Committee Politburo last Wednesday [18 October] called for a sincere and most necessary dialogue to seek solutions. It has opened the doors of trust to all GDR citizens of good will.

That was one of the reasons why Egon Krenz was able to note that the party and the whole of the country are embarking upon a road on which the SED Central Committee statement has in fact already embarked on. This road would be impossible without a composite, well thought out, but urgent program of renewal, which will—as the SED Central Committee session stressed—be a program of continuity, but, at the same time, also a program for the further development of socialist construction in the GDR under new conditions. It can be expected that this program will be submitted to the upcoming sessions of the top party and state bodies. Its buttresses can be seen already now: substantial expansion of the participation of the working people in the administration and the management of the destiny of their country, activation of party organizations, and an offer of a greater share of responsiblity to the parties of the Democratic Block of the National Front in the shaping and control of policy, and seeking ways to revive the economy. All this should crystallize by the 12th SED Congress, which has been convened in May next year.

"Socialism needs well-informed, critical, and self-confident citizens. It has a place and future for everyone," the new SED Central Committee General Secretary stressed.

Egon Krenz elaborated on some of the ideas on Thursday morning [19 October] when he paid a visit to the employees of the "7 October" engineering combine in Berlin. We do not rely on the fainthearted and panicmongers, but on those who see things as they are and want to change them, he said. In his speeches to date, the new highest GDR representative gave a sufficiently comprehensive answer to those circles west of the GDR border, which intend—perhaps even with the lure of offers of financial injections—to gain political capital from the present situation. Mikhail Gorbachev's words that "the fate of the GDR will be decided in Berlin" are the best answer.

The changes in the SED leadership are watched with great interest also in our country. Czechoslovakia sees in the GDR a strong and tested partner, a reliable ally, from whom one can learn quite a few things. The relations between the two parties and countries are characterized by frankness, sincere interest, and effective support, for which Erich Honecker deserves considerable credit. Therefore, we are convinced that these relations will continue to develop in a similar spirit, but will be further enriched by bilateral stimuli for mutual cooperation for the benefit of the two countries, for the benefit of the entire socialist community.

Youth Daily Views Unrest in GDR

AU1910144389 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Oct 89 p 5

[Commentary by Vladimir Plesnik, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in East Berlin for MLADA FRONTA: "Dialogue and Deeds in the GDR"]

[Text] A nice-looking 18-year blonde smiles from the front page of the Tuesday [17 October] edition of the

daily JUNGE WELT. Katja Grundmann is an apprentice in the Services' Enterprise in Doebeln. On Monday [16 October] she was elected chairwoman of the FDJ [Free German Youth] primary organization in her class, in a situation which in our northern neighboring country cannot be regarded as being devoid of problems, and not even as more or less tranquil. "When the atmosphere clears by means of discussions, without violence, it will be to everyone's benefit. I think that one counts on everyone who wishes others well. No, I am not afraid," she ponders. She adds that she is being unusually serious.

Both she and the situation in the country remain unusually serious. The drama of the past few weeks and the gatherings of several thousands in some big cities last weekend and on Monday [16 October] did not make the situation more tranquil. Not now, but several times before, the most aggressive attackers grabbed cobblestones and Molotokov cocktails [zapalne lahve]. They drove their own children in the front ranks of their protest marches. These are undeniable facts. On the other hand, however, many people realize that one simply cannot look at these events with a distorted simplicity any longer or blame them on some profoundly incorrigible and hostile circles in the Federal Republic, although their share in beginning to turn the wheels of the unfastidious campaign in relation to the GDR grabs your eye.

Why are so many people leaving the country? Why are they grabbing cobblestones? the citizens of the GDR are asking. They are not only asking. They are adding: The explosion of violence, the unsolvable dissatisfaction in the streets at night, the marches with lighted candles can only be a protest, but hardly a constructive stance.

Dialogue. This is the word most often heard these days in all possible contexts. Dialogue with all who are standing on the social and legal positions of socialism, says a statement of the Politburo of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, that is, the country's party leadership. Dialogue not as a campaign, but as means to implement the party's leading role. Dialogue, the springboard for a broader participation of all people of goodwill in the management of their country. Dialogue, when words must "prod" deeds.

Signs of the public being informed cannot be overlooked. They are in the press, radio, and television. Much of what has been slumbering under the surface for years is coming to the fore. Something to which eyes used to be frequently closed, revealing painful, exacerbated and, above all, unusual things, but for the benefit of all of those deft, "clever" people from enterprises and agricultural and production cooperatives, those who have united their destiny with the Communist Party and the first socialist state on German soil.

Hungarian Government Harming Danube, Environment

AU2210181689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Engineer Doctor Peter Danisovic: "Floods Warn; Can Ecological Interests Be Satisfied By Means of an Anti-Ecological Decision?"]

[Excerpts] **In addition to its other beneficial effects, the Danube hydropower project at Gabcikovo is to safeguard reliable protection of the low-lying territory on the right side of the Danube between Rajka (1,850th km of the Danube) and Gonyu (1,790th km)—that is, the area known in Hungary as Szigetkoz—against floods. The present anti-flood levees on this section of the river are not sufficiently safe, which was conclusively demonstrated by the flood of 1954.** [passage omitted]

The most reliable way of protecting the Danube lowlands against catastrophic floods definitely is to reduce the level of water in the river. This effect is to be achieved by the construction of the channel leading to the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian hydroelectric power station at Gabcikovo.

As is known, the Hungarian Government now proposes, supposedly on ecological grounds, that the completion of the system of hydropower projects be halted. In this way, the Hungarian Government has actually taken a stand against the ecological **interests of the Hungarian side,** that is, against the essential reliable protection of the Szigetkoz area against the possibility of catastrophic floods. No doubt, the flood of 1954 has been forgotten. Water management experts warn, however, that a large flood could occur within the next few years. The responsibility for the possible damage will be borne by those who have rendered impossible the rapid completion of the safe protection of the Szigetkoz area against floods.

Another serious problem is **drinking water for Budapest.** It is known that drinking water in Budapest is of very poor quality. It comes from wells on the island of Szentendre in the immediate vicinity of the Danube. The quality of water in the Danube determines the quality of water in the wells. Some wells are only 5 meters away from the Danube. This water cannot be cleaned by filtration because the filtration path is short and the filtration material coarse. Fine grained filter in the natural river bed of the Danube cannot develop. This is a Hungarian problem that has nothing to do with the construction of the hydropower projects, which Hungarian experts admit.

In the wide river reservoir on the Danube downstream from Bratislava that is being built for the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station, the quality of Danube water will improve because of the more intensive sedimentation of turbidity and because of the greater aeration of water on a larger, wind exposed area, which will increase the content of oxygen in it.

After the coming into operation of the wide river reservoir downstream from Bratislava and of the long Nagymaros reservoir, water of better quality than is the case now will flow into the wells from which Budapest is supplied. Should, however, the Hungarian side halt the completion of the river reservoir downstream from Bratislava and the construction of the Nagymaros reservoir **it will, in fact, decide against the ecological interests of the Hungarian and, in particular, the Budapest population.**

Correspondent Says Hungarian Situation 'Temporary'

LD2110100289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The current session of the Hungarian National Assembly has been of great importance for further political development in Hungary. Among other things, the deputies adopted the new official title of the state, the Hungarian Republic. What does this decision mean for day-to-day life and practical politics? I took advantage of the presence of our Budapest correspondent Tomas Borec to ask for his response to this question.

[Borec, in Slovak] Leaving out the word "people's" from the title "Hungarian People's Republic" evidently means that in that country they want to bring to the fore values other than those associated with that word. According to the new wording of its Constitution, the Hungarian Republic is an independent legal state in which the values of bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism are applied in equal measure. At first sight, it might seem that the Hungarian people are not so much bothered about the name of their state as about a speedy resolution of the economic and social problems, of which they are bearing the brunt every day. On the other hand, however, many people know that although that country has not known bourgeois democracy in the past, even fewer know that in neighboring prewar Czechoslovakia, they shot at striking workers.

Also of far-reaching importance for political life in that country is the adoption of legislative changes under which political parties will cease to function at workplaces. However, it is a historical fac hat the workers' movement and its party have always based their activities at the workplace, and even in the thick of the most cruel Horthyite terror in Hungary, communist cells operated in the factories. I believe that today's state of affairs is only a temporary one, and that the newly-nascent party of Hungarian Communists, which intends once again to win the trust of the working people, will also find the necessary way out of this situation.

Urban Receives Cuban Minister President Bachs

AU1910100789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—At Prague Hrzane Palace on Monday [16 October], CSSR First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban received Ernesto Melendez Bachs, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Cuba, who is paying a visit to the CSSR.

He briefed the Cuban guest on current developments in the CSSR, especially the progress of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. He also spoke about some themes aimed at intensifying mutual economic cooperation in the coming period.

Ernesto Melendez Bachs expressed interest in further increasing the effectiveness of the Czechoslovak-Cuban economic relations and extending cooperation to include direct collaboration between individual enterprises. He also spoke about the current situation in Cuba and the tasks connected with the development of the national economy, especially foreign trade.

Jaromir Zak, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received the Cuban guest in Prague on the same day.

Both meetings were attended by Mario Rodriguez Martinez, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the CSSR.

Hajek Says Civil Rights Movement Growing

AU2310140789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 Oct 89 p 2

[Johannes Steinbach report: "Hajek: The Civil Rights Movement in the CSSR Is Growing"]

[Text] Graz—The initiatives aimed at political renewal are also clearly growing in the CSSR. That was said by former CSSR foreign minister Jiri Hajek, who took part in the Congress of the Socialist Party of Austria [SPOe] in Graz as a guest. He said that since the end of June, more than 32,000 people had signed a petition demanding reforms and in particular a dialogue with the opposition. "Considering the fact that all signatories must expect to be harassed, and that artists must even expect to be barred from performing, this is an extremely large number," stressed Hajek.

He said that following the "Charter 77" civil rights movement, a "Democratic Initiative" had been formed, and the "Independent Peace Movement" had also come to the fore more since the manifestation marking the 20th anniversary of the Soviet intervention 1 year ago. He said that similar goals were being pursued by the civic freedom movement "HOS" or "Obroda" ("Renewal") of which "people of the Prague Spring" were members. In addition, a "Social Democratic Study Society" has been founded the chairman of which, Bretislav Nedbalek, also came to Graz last weekend [21-22 October].

However, Hajek refuses to predict when reforms could be started in the CSSR. He says that the "internal situation" in the CSSR is entirely different than in the neighboring communist countries. For instance, there is

no economic pressure which led to founding the Solidarity mass movement in Poland, he says.

Hajek is certain about one thing, however: If the borders are opened, no mass exodus can be expected. "We proved this in the summer of 1968: Up to 21 August not one citizen had emigrated."

Urbanek on Problems With Artists

AU1910105789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 3

[Statement by Karel Urbanek, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague on 11 October]

[Excerpts] It has been a year since the Committee for the Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic was established. [passage omitted]

A permament part of our political-organizational work is to see to it that the party's cadre policy is carried out in accordance with the conclusions of the seventh session of the Central Committee. First of all, our assessors reviewed the conclusions of the comprehensive assessment of the nomenklatura cadres. We interviewed 264 comrades, complemented and updated conclusions in line with the needs of ensuring the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the changes in the center's activity. By doing this, we wanted to create certain conditions for ensuring that the ranking personnel in the central bodies, and also in state enterprises, are more active. Where necessary, we also recommend necessary cadre changes. Until now there has been turnover in 83 functions that are in the committee's cadre roster. We demand of Communists who are ranking personnel that they consistently assert in their sectors the conclusions of the seventh session of the Central Committee on the improvement of cadre work. Therefore, among other things, we are today reviewing how the conclusions approved at that session are being elaborated on the level of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic. In connection with cadre work, I can say that as far as the implementation of the principles of our party body's cadre roster approved at the 12th session of the Central Committee are concerned there have not been any problems with resolving cadre issues in the party, social bodies, and national committees. However, there have been instances of ranking personnel submitting to Central Committee bodies proposals for filling posts with nationwide authority [pusobnost] without consulting our committee or the territorial party body, in accordance with the approved principles. [passage omitted]

The most demanding task at present is to ensure a differentiated approach to cultural workers. This is a sensitive and a very important sphere. Writers, actors, singers, movie makers, but also others, have a considerable influence on public opinion. It is no coincidence that various antisocialist structures, especially Charter 77, are concentrating their attention on them. Their objective is to turn cultural workers, or at least a part of them, against the party, against the socialist system. We are trying to counteract those tendencies by activating party organizations and party groups in artists' unions, and by working with individual artists. However, the present situation is more complicated than we originally thought. The committee assessed very critically the current state of ideological work in education and culture. In view of the complexity of the present period and the increasing demandingness of the tasks in this sphere, the committee has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to strengthen this entire sector of party work by appointing a secretary.

Army Commanders Assess 1988-89 Training

AU1910122189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Gathering of Commanders of the Czechoslovak People's Army"]

[Text] Prague—Commanders who are leading functionaries in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] gathered in Prague on Tuesday [17 October] to analyze the results of the past training year.

Addressing the gathering, Army General Milan Vaclavik stressed, among other things, that the tasks of restructuring have also become concretely reflected in the CSLA. Our Army is firmly united with the people, actively supports the policy of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], and resolutely rejects the demogogical demands of the illegal structures. Communists and party organization play a vital role in the Army's life. Their cooperation with commanders and chiefs [nacelnici] has strengthened. In connection with the current international situation, the CSSR Minister of National Defense noted that, despite the signs of a realistic approach by governments of some capitalist countries, we still note the attempts to modernize NATO's armed forces, to boost their combat strength. This requires maintaining the CSLA's combat-capability on a level that ensures the reliable defense of our fatherland and the fulfillment of all our commitments within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

He further noted that, under the complex conditions of restructuring in the CSLA and the realization of the decisions of the State Defense Council, one has succeeded in implementing the main tasks in connection with the troops' training in the 1988-89 training year, and the achieved results are the best since 1986. At the same time, however, the CSSR Minister of National Defense noted enduring problems and shortcomings, for example, in discipline and in relations among soldiers, in the organizational and management work, and in other spheres of army life.

The commanders' gathering was addressed by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He valued the results

achieved by the Army and spoke about topical issues connected with restructuring and the democratization of society in the present international situation, and about the tasks of the Army.

Colonel General Yevgeniy Kondakov, senior representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states to the CSSR minister of national defense, was also present.

A consultation of chiefs of political bodies directly subordinated to the CSLA's Main Political Administration also took place. Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the CSLA's Main Political Administration, spoke at the consultation about topical issues of the party and political work in the Army in the period preceding the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Official on Percentage of Gypsies in Crime Rate

AU1810200089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by Jan Bencura, chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Socialist Republic: "In the Interest of a Healthy Development"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In assessing the state and the development of the crime rate in the Slovak Socialist Republic, we are able to note that the situation has stabilized in recent years. We evaluate as positive the fact that, so far, there have not occurred in Slovakia any serious violations of the law as far as the protection of public order and new forms of entrepreneurship are concerned.

What must worry us, however, is the relatively great number of people sentenced for criminal and minor offenses, in proportion to the population. Last year, for example, 90 persons were sentenced in Slovakia for each 10,000 inhabitants. Particularly unfavorable is the situation among sentenced Gypsies. Last year they accounted for 16.2 percent of the total number of persons sentenced for criminal offenses, although they constitute only 4.5 percent of Slovakia's population. [passage omitted]

Fire in Flax Processing Factory Set Deliberately

AU1810210289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 89 p 2

["(z)"—signed report]

[Summary] Sumperk—A blaze which broke out in the stalks' [stonkovy material] warehouse in the Ceskomoravsky Len [Czech- Moravian Flax] national enterprise in Porucnik in the Sumperk District in the early hours of 15 October caused material losses amounting to Kcs3,37 and damage to the plant estimated at Kcs2,9 million. Shortly after the fire started, the police apprehended the arsonist, a 33-year old man, who had been previously sentenced six times.

Further Reportage on 11-12 Oct CPCZ Plenum

Debate on Enviroment

AU1910190089

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 October on pages 4 and 5; on 14 October on pages 3 and 4; on 16 October on pages 3, 4, and 5; and on 17 October on page 3 publishes accounts of all 37 statements, totalling about 40,000 words, made during the debate at the 15th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, held in Prague on 11 and 12 October. Speakers include the following members of the party leadership - Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee; Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic; and Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee.

Josef Haman discusses the "restructuring of party work" in the Central Bohemian regional party organization and the "enforcement of new thinking and activation of labor collectives" as prerequisites for the transition to the new economic mechanism next year. In this connection he criticizes as a "palpable barrier" to the party's efforts the "confusion and many unresolved questions as far the specific economic instruments and rules for the preparation of next year's plan and, hence, for the conclusion of collective contracts, and so forth, are concerned." He continues: "Many comments are being made about the superior and central agencies. On the one hand, support is being expressed for the decision of the Federal Government to reconsider its former intention for a progressive taxation of profits according to profitability and for its present proposal of uniform, flat-rate levies. At the same time, there is an understanding for the need to ensure a balanced state budget. However, there are big discussions about whether it is correct to give the Government the chance to raise the contemplated 55 percent levy on profits (a 50 percent levy applies to the food industry already) by up to 10 percent. People are asking whether this p roblem could not be dealt with in another way, such as by means of the originally contemplated uniform levy on capital assets, by reducing state subsidies and appropriations, or by adjusting other financial and economic instruments. Comrades from the enterprises often call our attention to the fact that at the seventh session of the Central Committee we rightly adopted the uniformity of levies as one of the key principles of the reform. There are also many discussions about the chosen method of bringing to an equal level the different starting positions of enterprises, a method which, in my opinion, narrows down the solution to the problem. Quite often, the need is also pointed out to endow the branch ministries with certain economic funds, similar to those of which the

ministries of agriculture and food avail themselves already. In these ministries, these funds have acquitted themselves well.

"In view of the monopoly status (of most manufacturers) and the state of economic imbalance, enterprises themselves recommend that, in the period of transition, we ensure the stability of at least the most basic supplier-user relations by temporarily increasing the extent of designated tasks, assigned by command. Another target of criticism, and a source of conflicts, concerns the administrative redistribution of resources within some state enterprises." In this connection, Haman cites the "by no means unique" case of the Brandys Engineering Works and Foundries, which must surrender more than 90 percent of their profits to the Avia Prague state enterprise, of which they are part.

In conclusion, Haman criticizes the fact that the government's "ecological program" involving conversion from coal to gas and the expansion of long-distance heat supply is confined to Prague and North Bohemia, although some parts of Central Bohemia, which neighbors on Prague and North Bohemia, are just as heavily polluted. In assessing the priorities of the ecological program, he says, "one cannot proceed just from the administrative borders of individual areas, but from the actual situation in individual localities."

Pavel Hrivnak's speech deals with the "unfavorable state of the environment" in Slovakia. He says that the foundations for today's problems were laid in the years of the industrialization of Slovakia when, in an effort to give people jobs and to make use of available raw materials, "industrial complexes and plants were built in closed valleys, chemical factories on top of underground water resources, and so forth." While Hrivnak concedes that at that time "there did not exist any realistic possibilities of a different course of action," later, he says, "many of us often understood ecology as a passing fashion which complicates one's life and aggravates economic results."

Hrivnak goes on to discuss various projects that have been implemented in Slovakia in recent years to improve the environment. In this connection, he deplores the fact that "many substantial solutions have been implemented only after the emergence of emergency situations as a result of the contamination of underground water and resulting problems in the supplies of drinking water." This was the case in Bratislava in the early seventies and in Michalovce District in early eighties, he says.

In the remaining parts of his speech, Hrivnak discusses the need to "revise and deepen the whole system of levies and fees" for the use of raw materials and other natural resources (soil, forests, water) and for dumping waste in order to improve the protection of the environment. He also discusses the plans of the Slovak government in this area, saying that ecological criteria will be considered in the formation of state development programs, scientific-research projects, in purchases of licenses, and in international cooperation in general. He mentions that the government has worked out "suggestions for using the freed research, design, and production capacities of the defense industry for the solution of ecological problems."

Vasil Mohorita discusses various ecological activities organized by the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), such as the "Brontosaurus" movement in the Czech Socialist Republic or the founding the "Ecofund" of the SSM Central Committee, which will be used to finance the development of organic farming on the SSM's own experimental farms. Speaking about the interest of young people in protecting nature, Mohorita complains that "they often come across formalism, indifference, and lack of understanding" in asserting this interest. "They also rightly demand," he adds, "that they be informed about ecological issues, about the true state of affairs, with absolute openness. Short of this, it is impossible to educate people, to take any preventive measures. Any suppression or even distortion of actual data only multiplies today's problems and demotivates young people."

The other speakers in the discussion, members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee, discuss ecological problems in their regions and their impact as well as the work being done or planned in individual regions or enterprises to protect nature and the environment. Some of them also criticize the slow or incomplete implementation of planned ecological measures.

Vasil Pacuta, chairman of the enterprise party committee in the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice, for example, criticizes the delays in the construction of a communal effluent treatment plant in Kosice and the "slow transfer of harmful production plants" beyond city limits. In particular, the Kosice public reportedly "sharply criticizes" the failure so far to move a magnesite plant out of Kosice.

Marie Bobkova, a pensioner from North Moravia, says that, although all larger rivers in the region are in the "third category" and the Ostravice and Odra rivers even in the "fourth category" of pollution, 50 plants are exempted from compliance with the norms on the protection of water resources. She also mentions that "under the pressure of supposedly social needs, the abolition of outdated production lines is being delayed; this concerns the Ostramo and Dukla Hrusov enterprises or the J. Sverma coking plant. The implementation of the desulfurization of the Klement Gottwald New Steel Mill and other ecological projects are also being delayed." Speaking about North Moravia, Bobkova also criticizes as "incomplete" and "inadequate" the monitoring system for contaminants that has been installed in the region, because "a number of harmful substances are not monitored at all." This concerns, for example, coking gas, 35 to 40 million cubic meters of which are being discharged into the atmosphere of the Ostrava-Karvina area every year. According to Bobkova, measurements

have revealed that, last year, the concentration of sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere exceeded the norm up to four times and the concentration of dust up to eight times "in a number of localities" of North Moravia.

Vladimir Kocandrle, director of the Institute of Clinical and Experimental Medicine in Prague, discusses the impact of the deteriorating environment on the "stagnating average lifespan" and the "alarmingly high mortality rate among middle-aged men" in Czechoslovakia. He also calls for the creation of a special agency for environmental protection with extensive powers, which would "make it more difficult for holders of political or economic power to misuse their power to damage the environment." He also says that scientists involved in environmental decisions will have to "regain and strengthen the public's confidence in them, which is shaken by the previous readiness of individuals and institutions to give a nod to all kinds of orders or to provide in retrospect scientific rationale for them."

Josef Riman, chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, cites in his statement estimates, according to which "annual national economic losses resulting from the disrupted environment represent about 7 percent of generated national income, even if the social expenditures on compensation for this damage are excluded."

Vaclav Sipek, leading secretary of the North Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee, deals with the state of the environment in North Bohemia, which constitutes "a political problem of extraordinary weight." As he says, "the very fact that 8 of the 15 largest sources of emissions of sulfur dioxide (in the Czech Socialist Republic) are in North Bohemia and that these emissions, together with emission of nitrogen oxide, have in North Bohemia the same concentration as in all other regions of the Czech Socialist Republic combined speaks for itself."

Sipek welcomes the decisions of the Federal Government to continue the installation of desulfurization equipment in North Bohemia and to accelerate the expansion of long-distance heat supply and the conversion from coal to gas. At the same time he calls it "incomprehensible" that "today, a short time after the adoption of these decisions, some responsible officials in the central agencies cast doubt on them and say that they are unfeasible."

In his speech, Sipek also criticizes the former policy of "suppressing everything connected with the ecology." This has reportedly led to the spreading of various "rumors and ideas" about the state of environment in North Bohemia that "are often worse than the actual situation." According to Sipek, these rumors have also "created a certain psychological barrier, the overcoming of which is a serious problem in recruiting physicians, teachers, lawyers, but also other qualified personnel for North Bohemia, without whom people in the region cannot do."

Valeria Cizmarova, an employee of the Slovak Electric Engineering Works in Krompachy, discusses ecological problems in East Slovakia. She says, inter alia: "The data provided by health statistics and the results of measurements are often alarming and we must not close our eyes to them. More than 40 percent of the population of the region consumes water which health officers class as unsuitable. The number of children with chronic diseases of the respiratory system is growing. In Kosice, for example, the number of these children has doubled in the last 5 years. The number of stillborn children in Kosice, for example, has increased from 5.1 per 1,000 births in 1987 to 6.6. The average for the CSSR as a whole is 4.7. As for tumorous diseases, statistics show that their incidence in Kosice is the highest of all districts in Slovakia." In another part of her statement Cizmarikova says: "I do not want to evaluate whether the central bodies appropriate sufficient funds for the East Slovak region for the solution to the shortcomings in the environment, which have been building up for a long time. The fact, however, that not even one of the inordinately contaminated areas of the region is to be tackled centrally does not provide the guarantee of a marked improvement of the state of the environment in the future."

Stefan Kutik, employee of the Slovak National Uprising Works in Ziar nad Hronom, discusses the impact on the environment in the Ziar Valley of the outdated technology of aluminum production in the Slovak National Uprising Works. He says that the Ziar Valley is "one of the most severely contaminated parts of the republic" and that the "state of health of the employees of the works and of the residents of the city has become extraordinarily serious." In this connection he criticizes the fact that the modernization of aluminum production in Ziar has not been included in the list of ecological projects and is being "constantly delayed" because of lack of funds.

Vaclav Cermak, chairman of the enterprise committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Tusimice power station, discusses the problems which the Tusimice power station has had with the use of Soviet desulfurization technology. He says that, although tests have shown the method to be effective, "the equipment is idle today and is being repaired, after about 1,000 hours of operation, because the slide valves and swing-check valves do not seal, the valves cannot be regulated, protection against corrosion is of substandard quality, and so forth." Cermak sees a solution to this problem, inter alia, in the "making available of the essential volume of foreign exchange for the import of components, which we in CEMA are unable to produce in the needed quality."

In his statement, Cermak also warns against the ecological consequences of the delays in the construction of the Mochovce and Temelin nuclear power stations. He says that, because of these delays, coal-fired power stations will have to be operated for longer than originally planned and continues: "Naturally, this will have formidable ecological implications. Once again, production tasks will get priority over ecological tasks. This situation

is repeating itself for the umpteenth time and I have to ask how we will cope with the problem of the safe and economical operation of the power generating units, for which we stopped ordering spare parts several years ago, for reasons of the planned discontinuation of their operation, and how we will react to the fines imposed on us by national committees and inspection bodies for atmospheric pollution."

Besides ecological issues, two speakers in the debate also discuss events in the neighboring socialist countries and their implications for Czechoslovakia. Bretislav Brenda, chairman of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, said that enemies of socialism have succeeded in winning great and, for a certain time, possibly very significant positions in Poland and Hungary and that now they are delivering a blow at another socialist state, the GDR. On whom will the enemies of socialism target their onslaught next? Will it be the CSSR? Shall we just wait for this onslaught or shall we take timely and thorough counter-measures? In my opinion, we must take them. The reality is such, however, that from conversations with some functionaries, I gather the impression that they do not realize how serious the situation is, as though it did not concern them. They say—everything is fine here, nothing is going on here, no one has signed anything here, and so forth. I think that this passivity, this careless attitude, which is runs sharply counter to the requirement to wage an offensive political struggle for people's minds, this insufficient political foresight could bring us into extremely unpleasant situations in the future.

"It needs to be realized that the situation is changing rapidly. Whereas in the past our enemies used to pass themselves off as reform communists who are concerned about socialism, want the removal of mistakes and a return to Leninism, today they no longer use these slogans and cannot even use them as their shield because it is clearly evident that the aim of the Polish Solidarity, for example, is not to develop socialism but to return to capitalism. One can also scarcely speak about the building of socialism on Leninist principles in Hungary in a situation when the communist party there is being liquidated.

"It is stated in the background materials which we received before the session that the political situation in all our regions is consolidated. The circumstance that the situation is consolidated does not yet mean that it could not be substantially better than it is. We cannot be satisfied merely because someone has not signed something or has not signed it yet. Quite the contrary. Now, as the further fate of socialism is at stake, it is necessary that Communists in all places where they work—in it manufacturing, science, or culture, clearly, actively, and publicly express their view, that they react and give a reply to the enemies' attacks, and that they—and I stress this—sign their attitude toward socialism." [sentence as published—FBIS]

Lumir Hanak, the CPCZ's representative in the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, says in his statement, among other things: "The situation is complicated and euphoria is out of place. The substance of our smaller successes lies in technological backwardness. We pay for it a higher price than we thought. It is not only that in Vienna we basically accepted the bourgeois concept of human rights. The situation is worse than that. Imperialism has not abandoned its aim to destroy socialism and let no one among us be in any doubt that its attacks on Czechoslovakia will now multiply. I do not assume that a war will break out. Imperialist forces seek peaceful convergence, the peaceful coming together of socialism with capitalism under the banner of democracy.

"It is good to hear that the political situation in our country is, on balance, stable and that the people back the party's policy. Nonetheless, I hope that we are not being too optimistic.

"I would be glad if all of us left this session with a deeper awareness of our historic responsibility for socialism than we came with. I find it hard to understand the situation in Poland and Hungary as the renewal of socialism, as something which should be welcomed in the Soviet Union, although I am trying to understand the internal difficulties of the Soviet comrades. As for the party's international activity, I have submitted my proposal on this to the relevant commission." Hanak does not provide any details on the nature of this proposal.

Comparison of Jakes' Speech

AU1610113889

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 October on page 1, under the headline "Comrade M. Jakes' Closing Address," carries an 800-word unattributed report on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee general secretary's concluding speech at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 12 October.

Comparison with the Prague Radio report on his speech published in the 13 October East Europe DAILY REPORT reveals the follwong variations:

Page 19, column 2, beginning of item to graf two, first sentence reads...[Text] In his closing speech at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Milos Jakes praised the unity...(supplying RUDE PRAVO introduction);

Page 19, column 2, last graf, last sentence reads...the people, to set our society into productive motion, and to mobilize all forces that are in favor of socialism so that we...(providing different wording);

Page 20, column 1, graf four, sentences two and three read...in the internal party discussion. This is...(changing "political" to "party");

Page 20, column 2, penultimate graf, first sentence reads...which demands great expenditures and which is...(changing "attention" to "expenditures").

People's Chamber Session Opens in Berlin

LD2410094689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 10th GDR People's Chamber session began in Berlin today. On the agenda is the election of the new chairman of the Council of State and the National Defense Council.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, at its ninth session on 18 October, proposed Egon Krenz for these posts.

Krenz Elected

LD2410101389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0949 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz was this morning elected chairman of the GDR Council of State and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council with a great majority by deputies at the 10th session of the GDR People's Chamber.

Paper Offers View of Krenz's Personal Life

LD2010132489 Hamburg DPA in German 0929 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Egon Krenz intends to go jogging daily even as Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary and prospective State Council chairman. He talks at home about almost everything, but prefers not to talk about his leadership of the party. For the first time in the GDR the readers of the FDJ [Free German Youth] paper JUNGE WELT experienced on Friday something about the private life of their highest representative, which was formerly an absolute taboo topic in the GDR media.

"Formerly you often went jogging, is that still the case?", Chief Editor Hans-Dieter Schuett asked the 52-year-old on his first working day. Krenz: "Yes, I try to do a few kilometers a day, mostly very early in the morning. Stamina is required, after all, for big and small things, and although I have to force myself again and again, I intend to maintain this habit. If I may say: to keep yourself physically fit for the demands of the day running by yourself is just about the only thing that can make that happen."

"What does your family say in fact about your new function? Does your wife advise you?" Krenz: "I talk with my family, with my wife and my two sons, about almost everything which interests them. But as regards my work the party leadership, I would like to say that family matters and professional matters should be carefully kept apart."

How does he feel on the first working day? Krenz: "Well, quite specifically: I feel good, I am very emotional and I would like now to get to work jointly with my comrades. The work of a great beginning, whose demands we are facing."

Thousands Demonstrate for Reforms Around Country

March in Leipzig

AU2310184389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] After prayers for peace in churches, at the moment more than 100,000 people have gathered in Leipzig's inner city to demonstrate for reforms and democracy. They chorus: "Gorby! Gorby! We want to see actions! We are staying!" And they demand freedom of travel and the abolition of compulsory visas.

The GDR radio correspondent reported that the majority of the people are calm, but there are also some who provide reason for doubt. So far the situation can be described as powerful but peaceful.

'Disciplined' Leipzig Protest

LD2310191489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At a demonstration in Leipzig on Monday evening over 100,000 citizens expressed their demands for tangible changes, further dialogue and a critical assessment of social development. Following peace prayers in six churches of the fair city, the procession formed at the Nikolai Church. The citizens from the fair city, the Leipzig area, and neighboring territories marched in a disciplined manner along the ringroad around the city center while shouting "No Violence." Local traffic in the inner city was temporarily stopped.

Since midday the city radio has been giving information about numerous opportunities for debate in the evening in the city districts, at the Karl Marx University and other venues. An alternative was thereby offered to the expression of will on the street, so as not to put strain on the dialogue that has been developing from day to day.

Peace Prayers in Leipzig

LD2310192789 Hamburg DPA in German 1735 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Peace prayers have been held today, as in previous weeks, in several churches in Leipzig, with several thousand people attending. Some of the places of worship have once again been overflowing, according to reports from Leipzig this evening. In the vicinity of the churches and in streets in the city center many thousands of people have once again gathered, according to this source of information.

After the prayers last Monday [16 October], a total of 120,000-150,000 people demonstrated peacefully in the city center for reforms, democratic renewal and the authorization of the "New Forum." A week previously, on 9 October, the figure was 70,000. There were no incidents.

In contrast to their GDR colleagues, Western correspondents accredited to East Berlin were once again banned

from Leipzig. This decision was conveyed to press representatives, who were planning to travel to Leipzig, by the division of press relations in the East Berlin Foreign Ministry, partly through the intermediary of hotel receptions and city officials.

Crowd Estimates Grow

LD2310215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2049 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—At a demonstration in Leipzig this evening approximately 150,000 citizens expressed their demands for tangible changes, further-reaching dialogue, and a critical assessment of the GDR's social development. [passage omitted]

However, more and more people followed the shouts of "Join us" as darkness fell. Youngsters, families with children, and older citizens joined the ranks. They chanted "Visa freedom" and "Speak and act—change the country." The demonstrators behaved in a level-headed manner and opposed excesses. The forces of order did not need to intervene.

The demonstration, which lasted several hours, broke up peacefully at approximately 2030.

Up To 300,000

LD2310184689 Hamburg DPA in German 1759 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In Leipzig this evening a mass demonstration for reforms began, at which many tens of thousands of people gathered. As in previous weeks the crowd made its way along the beltway around the old part of the city. Among the slogans were demands for the separation of the power of the party and state, it was also reported from Leipzig.

One slogan was: "Egon, who asked us?" Many demonstrators expressed their displeasure at the planned election of the new Socialist Unity Party of Germany chief Egon Krenz to the post of State Council chairman tomorrow.

The demonstration was preceded by services for peace in six Leipzig churches, one of which was Catholic.

"The whole city is full of people," an observer says. First estimates speak of over 100,000 people. More exact figures are not yet available.

The demonstrators, who also travelled to Leipzig from the area around Leipzig and other areas (bezirke), some of them in groups, also demanded "free elections," "purposeful community service" [alternative military service], and "the leading role to the people." Again and again the accumulation of power and offices was warned against, it has been reported.

During the evening the estimates from Leipzig of the numbers of demonstrators were of "at least 300,000." Eyewitnesses reported that they had seen almost no security personnel: "The police were absolutely in the background."

Again and again reference was made on banners and in chanting to Egon Krenz, but also to "New Forum." They read: "Don't ex-Krenz [ausKrenzen; play on words: Ausgrenzen means to Exclude] New Forum"; "Socialism Krenzless" [Krenzlos; another play on words: grenzloss means without frontiers]; "Allow New Forum;" and "State and party are two different things."

Referring to Krenz's condoning of the measures taken by those in power in China, one banner read: "Finish with the murderers in Beijing, Krenz."

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] deputies in the People's Chamber were called upon not to obey the parliamentary group's whip in the voting tomorrow. "Three offices—three men," was written on a banner with reference to the election in the People's Chamber. Moreover, there were calls for an independent student association in the GDR and support for the new party, the Social Democratic Party.

After 1900 GMT the peaceful mass demonstration slowly began to disperse. Quite a few thousand people, however, marched twice round the ringroad, which is almost 4 km long. During the demonstration in Leipzig people working for the "New Forum" and other citizens collected signatures for a protest statement against the election of Krenz to be head of state. Instead, the candidacy of the chairman of the GDR Liberals, Manfred Gerlach, was demanded.

Demonstrators placed candles around a building of the State Security Service in Leipzig. There were occasionally whistles and chants from the crowd against the "Stasi" employees: "You should be ashamed," and "We earn your wages." Many demanded that the Wall be pulled down. "SED, that hurts" was also heard. [passage omitted]

40,000 in Schwerin Rally

LD2310193289 East Berlin AND International Service in German 1816 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—At a rally this evening more than 40,000 citizens of Schwerin declared their support for a constructive exchange of views, without taboos, on all the social problems that have arisen. At the event, convened by the Democratic Block and Schwerin City Council at the Old Garden, Schwerin's traditional rally venue, they emphasized the need for continuing dialogue on all problems to make socialism in the GDR more attractive. The speakers of the evening were Heinz Ziegner, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany area executive, worker Ilona Lippmann from the Schwerin Leather Goods Works state enterprise, actor Heinrich Schmidt, and Dr Juergen Wege. Their ideas were greeted with great applause.

10,000 in Magdeburg

LD2310230489 East Berlin ADN Internatonal Service in German 2103 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Around 10,000 citizens gathered on Monday evening in and around Magdeburg Cathedral for the Monday prayer for social renewal. They then formed into a demonstration procession through the town center. The march, which led from the Cathedral through several streets and back to the starting point, passed off without incidents.

Protest in Halle

LD2410054689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2219 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—On the evening of 23 October several thousand demonstrators formed in the city center of Halle, lit candles and unfolded banners. They demanded tangible changes with slogans such as "Yes to Democracy!", "More Socialism, Less Coercion" and "We call on the Mayor To Conduct a Podium Discussion."

After the participants gathered at the Marktkirche, a procession of hundreds marched through the city streets. Others used the opportunity to discuss with the chief mayor and his council members in front of the town hall. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Give Appeal

LD2410054189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2200 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following a 1 and ½ hour prayer of intercession in the Gethsemane Church in Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg District, over 2,000 participants formed a demonstration procession on Monday evening. They marched through Schoenhauser Allee, Dimitroff Strasse, Prenzlauer Allee and Karl-Liebnecht Strasse to the Council of State building at Marx-Engels-Platz. On the way there they urged passers-by to join them.

In front of the Council of State building, they positioned lighted candles and read out a petition. In this they address the deputies of the GDR People's Chamber with their view that several candidates should be put up for election as chairman of the Council of State. The document, which, it was said, was signed by 300 people at the church, was handed over to an employee of the Council of State who was on duty. The demonstration broke up following an appeal by its spokeswoman.

Thousands Gather in Berlin

LD2410082389 Hamburg DPA in German 2321 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Several thousand people gathered late this evening [23 October] outside the Council of State building in East Berlin to hand in an open letter demanding that in the forthcoming election in the People's Chamber, other candidates in addition to Egon Krenz would be nominated. Plans provide that on Tuesday morning, during the People's Chamber session, the new SED leader be also elected the new chairman of the Council of State and National Defense Council. Thousands of demonstrators in East Berlin and other cities—some of them mounting signature campaigns—pointed out that a separation of state and party is necessary, and that three of the most important offices should not be held by one single person.

The demonstrators succeeded in receiving the promise from one of the guards outside the Council of State building that the letter would be passed as quickly as possible to the People's Chamber deputies. This promise was announced to the crowd by loudspeaker. According to church circles, about 3-5,000 people had gathered in the square between the Palace of the Republic, where the People's Chamber is meeting, and the Council of State building.

It was learned in East Berlin that in the Halle bezirk city hall, 10-15,000 people demonstrated peacefully for reforms this evening. They gathered near the market square. A few thousand marched to the SED premises. The senior mayor of Halle promised a dialogue with the city's citizens on 26 October, it is reported.

According to church circles, a silent march by about 2,000 people was held in Stralsund. Earlier, two prayer meetings were held in this city, attended by several thousand people. Earlier in the day, it was reported from Stralsund, talks were held in the town hall with interested citizens of the city on current problems and the demand for reforms.

Opposition Expects More Demonstrations, Strikes

AU2010175389 Vienna KURIER in German 20 Oct 89 p 3

[G. Fuerboeck report: "Opposition: No Confidence in New Leader Egon Krenz"]

[Text] The opposition in the GDR has reacted with extreme skepticism to the change in the country's leadership. "New Forum" spokeswoman Baerbel Bohley stated that Egon Krenz does not enjoy the confidence of the population because he belongs to the old system.

However, Krenz will certainly initiate reforms in all spheres of the economy, another East Berlin opposition member told KURIER on Thursday [19 October]. "He wants to implement the performance principle in the economy," the opponent of the regime believes. Enthusiasm for political reforms can certainly not be expected from Egon Krenz. Quite the contrary: The new general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who is known to have supported Beijing's hard line against its oppositon, is believed to be capable of adopting such a stance in the GDR as well. "Bejing is now in East Berlin," the opposition fears.

"On 1 November," another demonstration might be staged against the leadership, the East Berlin opposition member points out. "Wildcat strikes" are also expected to take place on this day.

"Basically, things are developing here like in a storybook revolution," the opponent to the regime states, painting a gloomy picture of the situation. "The party will gradually yield to pressure until a point is reached where it no longer knows what to do, and where it can no longer give in."

Factory Leader Denies Founding of Trade Union

LD2310190289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—In connection with Western news agency reports that workers of the "Wilhelm Pieck" equipment and regulator works in Teltow today founded an "independent reform enterprise trade union," ADN learned in a telephone conversation with Wolfgang Wernicke, factory trade union organization chairman of the enterprise, that "there was no founding ceremony of a so-called independent trade union in our enterprise."

An employee of the works declared that he was leaving the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] at an event at the beginning of last week, and read out an appeal he had drawn up which had since been circulated via Western media. This former FDGB member had not, however, achieved his goal of founding an "independent trade union," the factory trade union organization chairman said. A total of 7,236 members are currently organized in the FDGB organization of the equipment and regulator works in Teltow. Twelve workers have left the union. This shows that there are also failings in the enterprise, the removal of which requires energetic work.

New Opposition Group To Be Established

LD2210140989 Hamburg DPA in German 1306 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A new, non-state political group is in the process of being set up: the "United Left" [Vereinigte Linke]. It intends to meet at the end of November in East Berlin on state-owned premises if at all possible, and to announce its formation. The "United Left," the initiators reported on Sunday, considers itself as an opposition to the authoritarian state, but not as an opposition to the idea of socialism. It is in favor of social ownership of the means of production in contrast to the recently founded Social Democratic Party in the GDR (SDP), which calls for an ecologically oriented market economy with certain democratic control mechanisms.

Among the initiators of the "United Left" are workers of the East Berlin environment library, the "Church From Below," the Friedrichsfelde Peace Circle, and the group "Counterpoints." At present, there are contacts with the Academy of Sciences in order to obtain a public function room, it was reported.

Last week, the "United Left" in East Berlin held a meeting with about 60 participants. The program of the group, which is still being augmented at present, also comprises the following items: expansion of the producers' right to self-determination, consistent realization of the principle of social security, ecological restructuring of the industrial society, the realization of indivisible human rights, and the free development of the individuality of every member of society.

Opposition Groups Detail Police Attacks

LD2310172489 Hamburg DPA in German 1614 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Today in East Berlin opposition groups spoke to journalists from the East and the West for the first time at a news conference about the police attacks on the anniversary of the founding of the GDR on 7 October and they presented detailed documentation with reports by people concerned. It was announced that Gottfried Forck, bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, also handed over a collection of descriptions today of attacks by the security forces to chief Mayor Erhard Krack and Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area (bezirk) Secretary Guenter Schabowski. Such documentation about the incidents in Dresden was presented at the regional synod in Dresden this past weekend.

Forck asked his interlocutors to repeal all sentences and to stop the proceedings that are still pending against demonstrators. He demanded compensation for all those concerned and an expression of regret by the state leadership.

In the documentation there are detailed descriptions by people involved of beating, kicking, mistreatment, and other forms of violence at the police station and in prisons. The groups also held the new SED General Secretary Egon Krenz—at that time he was still the Central Committee secretary for security—and Minister of State Security Erich Mielke responsible for this.

At the news conference the East Berlin Consistory President Manfred Stolpe and high-ranking members of the judiciary were present. The organizers were groups such as "New Forum," "Democracy Now," "Democratic Start" the new Social Democratic Party of the GDR, the SDP, the Initiative for Human Rights and church groups.

The town youth pastor's office has proposed an investigatory commission in which those involved would describe their experiences. According to eyewitnesses, things were particularly brutal in the Rummelsburg prison and Weissensee fire station. It was reported from the prison that many of those arrested had to pass lines of policemen who hit them. Many had to do this in a particularly degrading way, such as on their hands and knees.

Some of the reports are as shocking as those from Dresden. They say that bystanders were also arrested and old people and young people were beaten. According to the existing accusations, many arrested persons had to strip off and stand against the wall for hours with their arms outstretched and their legs apart.

When police intervened, Western correspondents were also beaten. GDR journalists had to retreat to safe places and complained about broken cameras. At the press meeting in the evangelical Fennpfuhl church in Berlin-Weissensee many GDR journalists were also present.

In Dresden, according to the documentation there, about 1,000 people were temporarily detained around 7 October; the estimated figure for East Berlin is 700-900. The East Berlin town youth priest Wolfram Huelsemann spoke of a "grave misuse of state power." Stolpe also appealed for breaches of the law not to be accepted, but rather for charges to be brought. [passage omitted]

FDJ Leader Says 'New Forum' on 'Wrong Track'

LD1210220789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Why do young people who were born in the GDR seek their future on the other side of the border to their fatherland? How do we make this—our—socialism more attractive? How do we get all young people who are really interested in it around the same table? These and other questions were posed to Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council, during a telephone-radio forum organized by Youth Radio DT 64. Here is an extract from it:

[Begin recording] [Radio DT 64 announcer] Hello?

[Caller] Hello, it's Holger here; I've got a question for Mr Aurich. Is he personally in favor of reforms in the GDR and if yes, then in favor of which ones?

[DT 64 announcer] Whether he is personally in favor of reforms, and if so, which ones?

[Aurich] Now, we must perhaps answer this dialectically. Of course I am also in favor of reforms, but the second part of the question is of course the problem—which ones then. Here there are at present all kind of recommendations, from all possible sides, and I believe that we have to think about it ourselves basically and make our own development. I think that the call today from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo asks us all to think about how we can bring about a more attractive socialism and to make proposals to the party; that is also addressed in the statement and these are important, I think.

[DT 64 announcer] The Western media have taken the reform pressure firmly in their clutches, isn't that right?

[Aurich] It means something completely different; it expects under the term reforms, so to speak, a retrograde development to capitalism, and I must say quite clearly—and I am surely speaking on behalf of the youth of the GDR, or at least for the absolute majority—that we of course do not want to go in this direction at all.

[DT 64 announcer] Hello, who are you?

[Caller] Good day, my name is Simone Guetzman from (?Leipzig). I would like to know what the demands and aims of the group New Forum are.

[Aurich] Yes, the answer is not a short one, but at least one must, I think, first of all differentiate that there are some people who are working in the background and some who wish for the very same things that we have just mentioned in the last answer—i.e. they want to go in a completely different direction, of course [words indistinct]. We tried in yesterday's JUNGE WELT—and tomorrow it will be in the Leipzig edition—to say something about this. I must say quite openly that to follow them will lead down the wrong track; it will lead where we don't want to go. I would like to point out the difference here, that there are people who have at the moment many questions, many worries who will, through some topic or other that is addressed by these forces, of course also let themselves be captured. We have simply to talk about this, and we are ready to talk about this.

[DT 64 announcer] [words indistinct]. I would like to pick up on this a bit. Are these people those who wish for capitalism again?

[Aurich] Of course they don't say it like that. Perhaps every one doesn't want it like that; perhaps they want a quite different type of socialism and think that they can do it better, but I do not think that it is that type that will give the people in this republic, in this German Democratic Republic, what they want.

[DT 64 announcer] Why is an older man, i.e. Eberhard Aurich, at the head of the FDJ—he doesn't know the needs and worries. Someone stated that surely there is a lack of ability to understand, or...?

[Aurich, interrupting] It was said, or written, in the West: The somewhat greying head boy of the GDR. Perhaps one should take that as a value judgement, I don't know. Of course I can also imagine that a younger first secretary will also come in time, with development—I don't see any problem with that. But to come to the second part of the question, I don't think that it is a question of how young or old one is in order to understand the problems that young people have and to understand their feelings. It is a question of how one honestly deals with these feelings. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Writer Hermlim Favors Dialogue With 'New Forum'

LD1710143489 Hamburg DPA in German 1225 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR writer Stephan Hermlim has spoken up in favor of conducting the dialogue that has begun in the GDR with the "grass- roots groups"

"which are there, which have made their presence known, which are recognizable and have already been very popular," that is, "above all with 'New Forum.'"

In an interview that has now been published by the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin DIE WAHRHEIT, Hermlin said that he is in favor of dialogue with these groups as well "although I have in this respect met with opposition," and he added: "I oppose this opposition. If one wants a real dialogue and not another monologue dressed up as dialogue—we have indeed been masters at this—then one must bravely tackle the question of whether specific individuals fit into your scheme of things and whether views that perhaps the communists do not entirely like being aired in public."

It now must be shown that "a real socialist democracy" is wanted. This means including everyone who supports the GDR and does not appear as an opponent of socialism. "We want to remind ourselves that Stalin spoke of democracy as well. The word is easy to use, but must have a real content, which must be put to the test through deeds."

Asked about "continuity and renewal in the context of the GDR at present" Hermlin said: "In the present situation I am in favor, for a while at any rate, of doing without this concept of "continuity," and in favor of stressing that we are concerned with renewal." Pointing to the consensus among the generation of the founders of the GDR, to which Hermlin belongs, concerning an "antifascist-democratic new start," the author, who is said to be a particular confidant of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leader Erich Honecker, said that this consensus cannot be transposed.

"We must win over the young generation and it must win us over. That is a precess of reciprocity, and we must show ourselves in such a way that the young generation is ready to enter into a consensus with us. The older people must show through their whole attitude, through their deeds, that they are not resting and cannot rest on their laurels because of past services." The young ones must see "that we—the old ones—understand their problems and that we are moreover prepared, and must for biological reasons be prepared, to let the young ones come to the fore."

Statement by the Writers' Union Not Yet Published

The most recent critical statement by the GDR Writers Union Presidium, which on Monday had only previously been published by the organ of the Liberal Democratic Party DER MORGEN, did not appear in any other East Berlin newspapers today either, the central organ of the SED, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, included. It had been announced by the Writers' Union that the statement of 11 October would also be published by other media. It was sent to all editorial offices. The Writers Union asked for "revolutionary reform" in the GDR and decribed the "ignorance of the media" as "unbearable."

Social Scientist Sees No Increase in Repression

AU1610095789 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Interview with GDR historian and social scientist Kurt Paetzold, professor at East Berlin's Humboldt University, by Helene Meimann; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Meimann] Professor Paetzold, what questions must a social scientist like yourself ask if, 40 years after the founding of the GDR, 40,000 of its citizens, mostly skilled young workers, turn their backs on the worker-peasant state in a almost panic-like way?

[Paetzold] Well, it will take some time to analyze this. As far as the analysis of this regrettable, negative phenomenon that is directed against us, against those who consider this state worth building, is concerned, two basic facts are to be observed that are indirectly also admitted by those who are happy about this development. First, there has been no dramatic deterioration in the social or sociopolitical situation, and second, no dramatic increase in political repression, as it were, was to be observed during the past few months during which this exodus developed. It is quite obvious that part of the population does not identify with this society. Otherwise they would not have left. The question where the rupture occurred—if there was identification in the first place, which I consider quite possible—or why it was not possible to reach others at all, this will have to be discussed. We have the problem that there are a number of people who are only interested in buying goods at a very early age. However, we must ask ourselves how we can establish contact with these people. We must take into consideration the differences in the individuals' needs.

[Meimann] Would you speak of consumerism if somebody does not want to wait 15 years for a car or 7 or 8 years for a telephone, if people are faced with serious travel restrictions, travel restrictions that are much stricter than those in Poland or Hungary?

[Paetzold] Well, you should understand this quite well if you examine the reality of bourgeois society, in which people are manipulated into constantly buying new goods. To make things clear, I believe that shortcomings in domestic supply are one thing and consumerism is another. Society as a whole has started moving, but the goals of those who have initiated the movement vary considerably. It is nonsense to claim that everything that has started moving is only going in one direction. I am convinced that the majority of the population in my state has started moving.

[Meimann] In what direction should this movement go in your view? So far, it has more or less been considered as hostile to the state.

[Paetzold] The current situation is characterized by the fact that the initiative is taken by those who think that the possibilities of socialism are much greater than are currently utilized.

[Meimann] Do you think that personnel changes will be necessary? Will the representatives of real socialism be able to develop this kind of dynamism?

[Paetzold] I do not want to deal with the old question. However, I believe that new challenges are emerging in this process. If you examine the most recent reports, the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the leaderships of the other parties are setting themselves new tasks and adopting a different approach. This is quite obvious. Even if there is no catalogue on hand yet, it is quite clear that all are called upon to discuss the current situation in the GDR, future developments, and possibilities as to how our forces can be newly developed. By doing this, and by facing up to the new challenges, a new personnel situation is also created.

Civil Rights Activist on Recent Developments

AU1710190789 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 17 Oct 89 p 5

[Unattributed interview with Werner Fischer, spokesman of the "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights" in East Berlin: "China Was Being Rehearsed Here"; date not given]

[Text] NEUE AZ: The regime is getting nervous now in view of the recent emigration wave and the mass demonstrations. How does one feel as being of those who have destabilized the situation?

Fischer: First, those who are responsible for the situation have destabilized it. From the very beginning, there was the danger that something might happen that can be compared with events in China. This was not only a suspicion, but it was taken into consideration. Civil war was rehearsed here on 7 and 8 October. Thus, a demonstration formed spontaneously in Alexanderplatz square, moving toward the Gethsemane Church. There police interfered brutally, people were brutally chased away and loaded onto trucks in dozens, including passengers and people living in the neighborhood.

The Chinese model was imitated. This became also apparent among the state security organs. "We are playing China today." Things escalated in the next few days. A total of 700 to 900 people were detained in Berlin alone. We have the reports of 200 persons who were willing to have recorded what happened to them. They speak of interrogations they were forced to conduct while they were naked. They report that they had to remain in certain positions in cold garages for hours. They were also beaten. The police made massive attempts to intimidate people.

Despite the repressive measures, an increasing number of people joined the protest, including artists and workers in enterprises. There were strikes at the GDR news agency ADN. Something had to happen in this situation. The GDR leadership then tried to adopt a more accommodating attitude, and took the offensive by issuing a Politburo statement on 11 October.

However, the declaration only calls for dialogue under the control of the police and states that socialism must not be called into question. Indeed, socialism is not under discussion, because there is no socialism in the GDR. What does exist is the power monopoly of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which, as a matter of fact, is under discussion. There can be no dialogue with a leadership that is responsible for the above events—this government must be replaced.

NEUE AZ: What is this Politburo statement? An attempt to cautiously open up society, a compromise between various groups and the Politburo, or simply a cosmetic measure to keep people quite?

Fischer: A little of everything. The SED is trying to conceal its political bankruptcy by pretending to open itself up. It will only open itself up to a degree that does not endanger its power.

NEUE AZ: However, can this development not assume a dynamism of its own?

Fischer: This is what we rely on, and we are trying to reinforce this dynamism. Dialogue has been proposed in every large town. If we start talks, we call for certain preconditions. The most important precondition is a complete elucidation of the 7 and 8 October events, and the constitution of an investigation committee with the participation of independent groups.

Citizens Mainly Approve of Dresden Dialogue

LD1810093389 Hamburg DPA in German 0907 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The results so far of the dialogue between the citizens of the "Group of 20" and Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer were received mainly with approval on Tuesday evening by several thousand people in five churches in the city. A few people also expressed scepticism: There is still too little by way of concrete results and it is all taking too long, it was reported from Dresden on Wednesday.

The citizens' group's wish for institutionalization and a definite status is still being rejected by Berghofer. The group, which definitely does not see itself as an opposition force, sees it as a positive thing that a competent commission will provide an opportunity for investigating violence and also illegal acts by police. [passage omitted]

Press Expresses Discontent on Travel Restrictions

LD1510144889 Hamburg DPA in German 1400 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The discontent in the GDR population about the difficulties imposed on travel to the CSSR is now also being expressed in the country's press. The network of control points in the frontier area has been further stepped up on the GDR side, it was reported from this region today.

Fears and rumors that there would be barbed-wire fences along the frontier with the CSSR were officially denied. The SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in Dresden wrote: "The GDR frontier troops' command told this newspaper that these are rumors which are without foundation."

A reader's letter in the same newspaper: "Admininstrative measures such as the restriction of travel to the CSSR are no solution to the problem. We expect from the party and state leadership strategies to shape conditions in our country in such a way that no one else will want to leave it."

The Dresden newspaper UNION sharply criticized the travel restrictions yesterday. It asks whether those in power did not understand that such regulations "cut away yet another piece of freedom of movement." The citizen was being made to put up with additional travel and waiting times, "which rob him of his composure and his freedom." The application of old methods just made people feel restricted again, the article says. It is printed under the state announcement that lays down the new permit procedure for CSSR trips.

According to this, only pensioners and invalids can "apply for travel to the CSSR for personal reasons without fulfilling requirements". A visa can be applied for among other ways by making hotel reservations. However, trips to the CSSR organized by travel agencies were not sufficient and were quickly sold out, as GDR citizens report.

The movement 'Democracy Now' has also called for visa-less travel to the CSSR and to Poland, as in previous years. It also proposes the creation of legal guarantees so that former GDR citizens who are now in the West can come back to their home country.

Freedom of Travel for Citizens Planned

LD1810171989 Hamburg DPA in German 1609 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to a report by the BILD newspaper, the new GDR leadership under Egon Krenz is thinking of introducing almost complete freedom of travel for GDR citizens soon. However, according to the paper which quoted diplomatic sources in East Berlin, journeys to the West are to be subject to the condition, as is the case with Hungary, that a sum of money sufficient to cover the visit abroad can be exchanged for foreign currency.

East Berlin had therefore put out feelers in Bonn to find out whether Bonn would be prepared to help in the acquisition of this foreign currency. However, it is reported that Bonn has declined.

The newspaper continues, Honecker's replacement by Krenz had been settled since mid-September. Citing information held by Western secret services, the newspaper said that Krenz and influential SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] area [bezirk] leaders had stipulated that Honecker should only remain in office until the GDR's 40th anniversary celebrations.

Dresden Theater Workers Protest After Play

LD1710150189 Hamburg DPA in German 1410 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The members of the Dresden State Theater are at present turning every evening after the performance to the audience and reading a resolution in front of the curtain which begins with the text: "We are no longer playing our roles—the situation in our country is forcing us to do this." A leaflet with the text was publicized on Tuesday by SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] party and parliamentary group head Hans-Jochen Vogel to the deputies at a session of the SPD Bundestag parliamentary group in the Berlin Reichstag.

"A country which cannot keep its youth is endangering its future," it says in the resolution. "A party leadership which does not talk to its people has no credibility. A party leadership which no longer examines its principles with regard to usefulness is condemned to go under. A people which is coerced into speechlessness is beginning to become violent. Truth must see the light of day. Our labor has been put into this country. We will not allow this country to be destroyed."

The ensemble members demanded, inter alia, a right to information, to dissent, freedom to travel, "pluralism in thought," and a right "to interfere" and "to check our state organizations." They demand that "lies and painting things in a rosy color disappear from our media" and demand of the state and party leadership that "the trust in the population be re-established." They stress further their "obligation to force dialogue between the people and the party and the state leadership" and to demand from the state apparatus that it "conducts the dialogue without violence."

According to a report in the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, the protest action was "gotten rid of" at first after the second instance. The actors then came in front of the curtain in silence for the next evenings, as became known in West Berlin on Tuesday. In the meantime however they may again read out their resolution.

Berlin Theater Workers Meet, Organize

AU1910125689 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 17 Oct 89 p 2

["NZ/K.B." report: "Meeting of Berlin Theater Workers; Continuation of the Dialogue on Topical Questions"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Sunday [15 October] Berlin theater workers met with representatives of other theaters of the Republic in the German Theater. Prepared by the union officials of the Berlin theaters, this meeting served as a continuation of the exchange of views on currently topical political questions, which started on 7 October in the People's Theater. Also present were representatives of television, the Graphic Artists' Association, the Arts Trade Union, the Ministry of Culture, and the Berlin Bergmann-Borsig State-Owned Enterprise.

At the beginning, representatives of the Berlin Puppet Theater gave an eyewitness account of the actions of the police during and after the demonstration on 7 October. After the meeting a resolution by Maik Hamburger of the German Theater, which had been adopted by acclamation, was available for signature and is to be published.

Lawyer Georg Gysi stated, among other things, that in the future it will be important for the security organs to protect peaceful demonstrations and, at the same time, to act against hooligans and rowdies in accordance with the law.

Trade Union representatives of Bergmann-Borsig explained the intention of their letter which was published in TRIBUENE.

During the 4-hour discussion Dieter Mann, Wolfgang Engel, Christoph Schroth, Heiner Mueller, Steffi Spira, Peter Waschinsky, and also people from the overcrowded auditorium expressed the urgent desire to discuss all problems and conflicts in the artistic and sociopolitical fields in a critical, business-like, and public manner.

Several proposals were presented for this purpose. Christoph Schroth invited the Berlin theater workers to a matinee in the Berlin Ensemble Theater on 21 December. A special congress of the Theater Specialists Association was also demanded. A legal demonstration of Berlin artists, which is to be registered with the responsible authorities, is to take place on 4 November. Representatives of the Republic Theater took up this proposal for their ensembles.

Deputy Culture Minister Siegfried Boettger provided information about the current state of the work on the concept of prospects for the further development of theater arts in our country and on the fact that the members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and Hartmut Koenig, will take the concerns of the theater workers, their worries and problems, to the next Central Committee session.

Resolution of Theater Specialists Published

AU2210211489 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18 Oct 89 p 4

["Expansion of Democracy; Extraordinary Theater Congress Convened"]

[Text] At its session in Berlin on 16 October, after a vivid and partly controversial debate, which took several hours, the Presidium of the GDR Theater Specialists Association adopted a resolution, which includes ideas from statements and open letters, from declarations of intent and trade union meetings of theater collectives and theater workers. At the same time, the resolution is an attempt to determine the work of the next months on the basis of these documents and ideas and give room to conceptional considerations and strategic questions of theater work.

The resolution reads as follows:

1. The Presidium orders the members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], who are organized in the Association, to present and support the opinions and proposals of the theater workers in preparing the 12th SED Congress.

2. The Presidium welcomes the proposal presented by, among others, the group of young theater workers to convene an extraordinary congress of the Association in January 1990 and recommends to the Executive Committee to adopt the necessary decisions. The Presidium Secretariat is ordered to work out a corresponding concept.

3. In order to prepare the Sixth Congress of the Theater Specialists Association, a statute commission and an application commission will be established. Both commissions will present first ideas for the further democratization of the structure and working method and the function of the Association at the extraordinary congress.

4. The president and the first secretary propose to the leaderships of the other artists' association to form a joint working group to work out a proposal to be sent to the 12th SED Congress, which newly defines the function and position of the artists' associations as a result of the changed social requirements.

5. The Presidium welcomes and supports the making public of political activities of the theater workers at their theaters.

Rock Musicians Want Sanctions Lifted

AU1910125889 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 17 Oct 89 p 2

["NZ/G.D." report: "Plenary Session of the Rock Section"]

[Text] East Berlin—The plenary session of the Rock Section of the Committee for Entertainment Art, which took place in Berlin yesterday, focused on the current domestic situation.

Numerous artists expressed their shock at the departure of many people from the republic and their incomprehension over the late reactions to the situation. In a critical, partly controversial discussion, in which Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth, participated as a guest, the need for changes in the spirit of perfecting things was stressed, as well as the importance of dialogue for this purpose. In this spirit, Eberhard Aurich expressed his readiness to discuss matters again with the rock musicians after the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. This was received with approval and, at the same time, it was pointed out that it is necessary to find further partners for talks, and not to exclude anyone.

Despite several open questions and disagreement about individual items, the approximately 300 participants in the meeting adopted a joint statement, in which, referring to the statement of the SED Politburo, they presented proposals for dialogue. They expect the sanctions imposed against individual artists because of their controversial first resolution to be lifted immediately, they call for discussions without violence, and demand media that report objectively and comprehensively.

Section head Toni Krahl announced that a first concert under the motto "Those who stay for those who stay" will take place in the Berlin House of Young Talents on 24 October, in which Juergen Eger, Silly, Gerhard Schoene, Jazzer Conny Bauer, City, and others intend to participate.

'Demand' Immediate Dialogue

AU2210211789 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18 Oct 89 p 4

["Recognizing Contradictions; Resolution of Rock Artists of 18 September 1989"]

[Text] Here we publish the text of the resolution of rock artists (more than 3,000 colleagues have supported it) of 18 September 1989. However, it is necessary to point out—and the rock artists do this themselves—that in the meantime several things have started moving, in particular after Erich Honecker's meeting with the chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front on topical tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR on 13 October 1989.

Resolution

We, the signatories of this message, are concerned about the current state of our country, about the mass exodus of many of our peers, about the crisis of meaning of this social alternative, and about the unbearable ignorance of the party and state leadership, which plays down existing contradictions and sticks to a rigid course. It is not a question of "reforms that abolish socialism," but reforms which make it possible for socialism to continue to exist in this country. Because, the current attitude toward the existing contradictions endangers it.

We expressly welcome that fact that there are citizens in democratic grass-roots groups who want to take the solution of the existing problems into their own hands. This country needs the million-fold activation of individuality; the old structures are obviously hardly able to do this. Thus, we took note of the appeal by the New Forum and in this text we find many things which correspond to our own thoughts and even more things that are worth to be discussed and exchanged. We consider it long overdue to reduce and overcome old enmity and reservations. Now it is important that the political will of large parts of the interested population is met by a positive attitude "from above," that is, that these groups are recognized, tolerated and included in the dialogue and in shaping this society, as is commanded by the GDR Constitution and its regulations. This country has to finally learn to deal with minorities who think differently, in particular if they are perhaps no minorities.

The increase of ultrarightist and conservative and nationalist elements also in our country, and the propagation of all-German views is the result of a lack of reaction to accumulated contradictions and facts that have not been dealt with in the past. Leftist forces are again falling prey to this stubborn policy. We want to live in this country, and it makes us sick having to watch inactively how the attempts at democratization and social analysis are criminalized or ignored. We demand now and here an immediate public dialogue with all forces. We demand an opening up of the media to these problems. We demand a change of the untenable conditions. We want to face the existing contradictions, because only by solving them and not by playing them down will a way out of this crisis be possible.

Cowardly waiting provides people who advocate all-German views with arguments and preconditions.

Time is ripe. If we do not do anything, it will work against us!

Berlin, 18 September 1989.

On Monday, 16 October 1989, a plenary meeting of the Rock Section of the Committee for Entertainment Art took place in Berlin Weissensee. Present were numerous artists of other sections. A statement was adopted, which, emphatically referring to the resolution of 18 September 1989, contains further proposals for frank discussion. Section head Toni Krahl announced an event, "Those who stay for those who stay," by rock artists to take place in the Berlin House of Young Talents on 24 October 1989.

Hager Discusses Reform With Entertainers

LD2310210289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Berin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Kurt Hager and the presidium of the committee for entertainment art discussed current political questions and urgent problems of the work of entertainment artists. The presidium members underlined that they consider it absolutely necessary to continue the dialogue about the state and the prospects of the GDR that has begun and in doing so to create public means of acting for all democratic initiatives and groups.

The entertainment artists want to play a more active part in the analysis of mistakes that have been made and their causes as well as in the restoration of lost civil commitments.

One of the most discussed topics at present, according to committee President Gisela Steineckert, is the use of violence in connection with the demonstrations on 7, 8, and 9 October, particularly the behavior of security personnel toward people taken into custody. The official statements on this up to now have not been satisfactory. Only unrestrained honesty in clearing the matter up and, if necessary, personal repercussions can furnish the proof that society is in a position to free itself from such phenomena, she said.

Kurt Hager stated that all harshness that took place is to be regretted. It is important to speak of both sides. People taken in for questioning were mistreated and there was violence toward policemen. The matters should be cleared up honesty and be made public.

In the further discussion, in which questions were raised about the collective leadership of the party, Kurt Hager said that despite all the merit Erich Honecker had in his decades-long action in the struggle against fascism, in the construction of the GDR, and securing peace, it got to the point where achievement in, for example, peace policy was accorded exclusively to him. If you want to describe that as a personality cult, then, Hager believes, there is an element of that present.

In response to the question for the motive behind proposing General Secretary Egon Krenz as State Council chairman and National Defense Council chairman as well, the politician said that the SED Central Committee holds this to be necessary to secure the change. The decision on this, however, lies with the people's chamber. Rock musician Peter Meyer said that structures should be created to prevent it coming to a similar situation to today in 20 years. Kurt Hager said that the ninth session of the Central Committee has already made a new beginning in this direction. From now on it will completely take on its function as the highest organ between the party congress.

Dr Rene Buettner, chief editor of AMIGA, drew attention to problems that arise for entertainment artists from the existing procedures for permission to travel abroad. Kurt Hager supported the proposal to work out new modalities for the export of entertainment art. The sole criterion for appearing abroad should be the quality of the artistic performance.

"We are talking here, but the flow of emigrations is not slowing down," said media scientist Professor Helmut Hanke. It is of urgent necessity that the People's Chamber address the people with words relevant to them.

Cabaret artist Dr Gisela Oechelhaueser stated that satire intends to contribute now by means of new programs so that "people will like this country better than they do at the moment." She viewed Egon Krenz's chance as her own. The lecturer at the high school for acting argued in favor of creating institutes for opinion and social research. Every statement by the party should be scientifically based.

Hager supported taking up the thought of rock singer Anton Krahl and giving the two television channels in the GDR their own profile. In this connection the presidium proposed opening up greater possibilities for the entertainment artists for independent work in radio and particularly in television in the GDR. All forms of censorship and tutelage should also be overcome in entertainment art and differences of opinion should be cleared up through discourse. Setting up an alternative label for record production should be accelerated.

Deputy Culture Minister Dr Hartmut Koenig affirmed that the ninth session of the SED Central Committee radically broke with the formalism of old times. New thoughts about cultural policy should now also be embedded in the thought on the entire society.

Nagel Commentary Outlines Requirements for Change

AU1910125789 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 17 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Hans-Juergen Nagel commentary: "Where and How To Start?"]

[Excerpts] Questions are asked, many questions. Where and how to start—with the renewal and changes? What to do first, where are more thorough considerations necessary? And: Who is to do it?

Who, if not we ourselves? Of course, we have said this often. Certainly we have not always been successful in practice. Some efforts in everyday life as regards this strenuous changing, urging, and searching resulted neither in the desired nor lasting success. Self-complacency; indolence; fear of critical, more far-reaching arguments; and ignorance are hidden all too often behind "this is not possible," "this is not my business," and other remarks and behind the claim of allegedly not being responsible, and pushed the responsibility and co-responsibility for all questions and problems in our country into the background.

It is probably completely clear that there will not be any recipes in the future, either, for what socialist democracy is to be like on this or that day, in this or that place, in this or that body, including the executive committees and commissions of our party, and for how we have to put into practice all the things that the Constitution and laws set down for our state that is beneficial to all, in a specific, tangible, and beneficial way for everyone at every level—for the most different basic interests of all citizens of the state. In my experience, in our country we have preconditions, which correspond and are very specific to us, for an understanding and practice of democracy; which can reflect the variety of experiences, plurality of opinions, and a different view of things; which calls for alternatives, considers public considerations, frank talks, and opposition justified everywhere in the country; and makes it possible and productive—and this not only for the sake of general discussions, but, and this remains the decisive thing, to make some tangible changes. [passage omitted]

Those who are responsible for something and have accepted a task in our community, no matter in which place, have to fulfill this task with all their strength and cannot somehow delegate it.

Stimuli for thinking are always welcome, but stimuli so that someone first of all does what he is expected to do and what laws and regulations demand—as a result of their honorary work, deputies know a lot about this from their cooperation with enterprises, councils, and institutions—really must become superfluous.

Other questions, other problems are by no means so simple. Let us just think of effectively enforcing the performance principle or expanding opportunities for travel. The first requires that work is worth the same everywhere in the republic so as not to let indifference crop up; the latter requires more foreign currency, more exports, in short, more attractive work results for the international market. This takes us back to the challenge which we have to face. However, different questions do not change the principle, namely to bring to bear our socialist democracy, our economic policy, and working together and for each other in a really democratic way in small and big questions everywhere—in a convincing way and giving a good example, no matter where.

Committee Discusses Agricultural Problems

LD2110094689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—An open, and at times critical discussion concerning the results of and experiences in resolving the unwarranted falling behind of cooperatives and publicly owned goods characterized the session of the People's Chamber Committee for Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs, headed by Chairman Michael Koplanski (Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany) in Berlin today.

At the beginning, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Werner Krolikowski acknowledged that deficiencies and manifestations that were not in accordance with the essence of socialism were perceived and being fought in the committee.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Max Hartmann informed the deputies about the state of the agricultural work and the fulfillment of the plan. The potato harvest is virtually complete and half of the sugar beet clearing has been concluded. Winter grain is being planted at the correct time. In animal production, the planned lead was 27,000 tonnes of fattened cattle, 244 million liters of milk, and 154 million eggs, "so that from the part of agriculture everything has been done for sufficient supplies," he stressed. There were bottlenecks, which the Council of Ministers presently is working to eliminate, in slaughtering, transportation, and trade.

The minister said that at a government decision, 1 million tonnes of fodder were imported at a cost of about 350 million valuta marks to stabilize the fodder fund.

According to Hartmann from an analysis of his ministry it had come out that of the currently more than 4,000 cooperative farms and publicly owned enterprises in the republic, 178 of them had a lower production level 3 years ago. The extraordinary dryness during the last two summers has allowed the share of such enterprises to rise slightly again. [passage omitted]

Modrow Emphasizes 'Constructive Dialogue'

LD2110215689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] [announcer] The White Fleet set off today from the bank of the Elbe in Dresden for a ship parade in the Saechsische Schweiz area. And while thousands gathered on the banks to say a final farewell to summer, members of the personnel of the VEB Robotron Elektronic factory were meeting at Pirna Square for their factory conference. There was a warm welcome for Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden area executive. Renate Scheiblich spoke with him:

[Begin recording] [Scheiblich] An open, honest difference of opinions took place here, too, at the factory conference of the VEB Robotron Elektronik factory in Dresden. Hans Modrow, to what extent is this discussion [word indistinct] high performance being demanded here in this leading enterprise of the area typical of attitudes in factories? You were in various combines and factories last week; you were seeking and conducting dialogues. Perhaps you could give us a first summing-up?

[Modrow] A first summing-up would be possible, but perhaps, fundamentally, premature. What we have sensed is two things: First, there is a climate in the factories which makes workers ask themselves how production can be further ensured, how the performance which they expect from themselves can be ensured in the future also by the best conditions in management and

planning. And at the same time one notices one thing; I would like to say this openly with reference to the speech of the general director of the combine: We are even more quickly taking up what we have done up to now and what we have also planned up to now, but we haven't reached the point where we can clearly establish for ourselves the nature of what has been called the profound change, and thus produce specific ideas and constructive thoughts which will influence the conditions out of which grows what is at present worrying us. And the third [as heard] thing: Our expectations about the 10th session of the Central Committee are that this matter should be resolved, and that the workers should feel that their industry, their determination, their attitudes will be more decisively linked with the skill of those who have to create the necessary preconditions of a new and different quality.

[Scheiblich] Yesterday for example, I was on a large bulding site here in Dresden, and the workers' view was that there's a lot of talk at present about our problems. That is a good thing. There's a lot being written in the newspapers. But we simply want to see deeds, we want something to happen in the immediate future, for the welfare of the people. Let's say this now, we can't stress it enough.

[Modrow] They are right. One of them, Hero of Labor Gerhard Mueller, expressed something very true in our Saechsiche Zeitung. While some were rioting on Prager Street, they were there in the same place building houses. Some were smashing things up at the main station, others were responsibly building 200 or 300 meters away a house in which people would eventually live. But he put a tough question to the state leadership: Should Prager Street be finished only at the end of the year 2000 or in 1994, as the plan lays down? The uncertainties are too great, the decisions must be taken more quickly and consistently, the workers' wishes and the state's decisions—which are naturally involved with the creation of the necessary preconditions—should be made into a unity.

[Scheiblich] One example among many that you have been confronted with over the last few days, perhaps irrelevant to the last thought you expressed, or then again perhaps it is relevant: last night there was a demonstration in Dresden again, it began with a religious service in the Kreuzkirche. Citizens of Dresden were marching round the city center again. You must have heard about it, Hans Modrow?

[Modrow] of course. I not only heard about it, but the SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG also reported on it. That's journalism that doesn't remain silent, even when there's problems. On 26 October we will be holding a meeting of the city assembly and the area council will be sitting so that those who think dialogue must be held on the streets understand that constructive dialogue must be conducted with those who are responsible and whom we expect that they meet their responsibilities. The city assembly will examine itself on this occasion and reflect on to what extent today's procedures, in standing committees, is adequate with its lack of real scope within working groups, to the scale of the problems to be dealt with. It will consider whether there is a need for change in these procedures also. At the area council we shall then have to ask ourselves whether everything that the citizens have criticized in the past, things that nowadays are considerably more complex, under conditions where, let's be honest, people have left the GDR and thus have left empty jobs, where every individual knows that for industry, for the health service and in other fields [incomplete sentence as heard]

[Scheiblich] Here too, at this factory meeting, this problem was recognized as a conflict and discussed?

[Modrow] Yes, and one must say that general director of the Combine Robotron, Friedrich Wokurka, has approached the territorial organs and said if you have got problems let's try to exploit territorial resources more intensively together, to mobilize them. And this point will certainly be raised at the city assembly in an echo of what has been said here.

[Scheiblich] Hans Modrow, you have a great deal to do at the moment, not least this weekend. Can I put to you the impertinent question: Do you like your job just now?

[Modrow] Yes.

[Scheiblich] Are you enjoying it?

[Modrow] Yes, because I can say that even before the ninth session of the Central Committee, I had been talking about changes, let's be open about it, about reforms. I am not in a situation where I have, as it were, to change my way of thinking; I am in a situation where I can carry on thinking in ways that I started thinking in some time ago here in Dresden.

[Scheiblich] And have you got good comrades beside you, not least real colleagues?

[Modrow] First of all, as regards comrades. One could say of my area party aktiv that one could sense that it was giving good backing to its Secretariat, its area executive, as well as to the first secretary. And with regard to the work, I'll say it just as clearly in the GDR as I did in Stuttgart during a visit to the FRG: A job with a lot of responsibility, which stretches one fully, is enjoyable, and so I think that answers your question, too. [end recording]

Jurists Call for Expansion of Rule of Law

AU2310100789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] GDR jurists are calling for an essential expansion of legal security and the rule of law. Gregor Giesi, chairman of the lawyers' committees, said on GDR radio that the travel law is most urgently needed. A transparent tax law and a new penal code that focuses on real criminal behavior are also necessary, he said. According

to Gregor Giesi, action has to be taken wherever legal security is not fully guaranteed or where people believe they can ignore the law because they hold certain offices.

Participants in Meeting With Democratic Block

AU2410102589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "In the Alliance Together for the Further Strengthening of the Socialist GDR"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—Under the rotational chairmanship of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Central Democratic Block of parties and mass organizations met in the building of the National Council of the National Front in Berlin on Wednesday [18 October]. Leading representatives of all the parties and mass organizations united in the block took part in the consultations: Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany; Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany; Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany; Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation; Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth; Ilse Thiele, chairwoman of the Democratic Women's League of Germany; Hans Pischner, president of the GDR Cultural League; Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Peasants Mutual Aid Association; and Lothar Koldtz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front. [passage omitted]

Keller Says 'We Will Talk With Everybody'

AU1310194689 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Interview with Dietmar Keller, state secretary in the GDR Culture Ministry, "who attended an event in Wolfenbuettel entitled 'Days of Encounter With the GDR,'" by Cornelia Mayer; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mayer] How do you assess the readiness of the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to talk with opposition groups in the GDR?

[Keller] It has been clearly formulated in the Politburo statement that we will talk with everybody about everything. This means that we will also speak with citizens who have organized themselves or have gathered in different forms. It is not primarily a question of the degree and the form of organization. What is important is that problems are solved.

[Mayer] Will there be reforms in the GDR?

[Keller] There have always been reforms in our country, and there will be reforms in the future. This has been clearly formulated in the Politburo statement. Questions concerning the implementation of the performance principle, questions concerning the further increase of goods production, questions concerning the media, media that are close to life, information that is close to life, questions concerning traveling, et cetera, will be discussed during the next few months. Decisions will be prepared and made after thorough discussion.

[Television moderator] In a talk with journalists, Keller also commented on rumors about a possible resignation by state and party leader Honecker.

[Keller] Erich Honecker alone must make a decision on Erich Honecker's resignation. I have already pointed out that a Central Committee session is necessary for this. I do not know whether a Central Committee session is planned or has already been called. If the majority of the Central Committee members believe that personnel changes are right and necessary—which is quite normal in the world and in politics—the corresponding decisions will be made.

FRG 'Obnoxious Talks About Reform' Criticized

AU2410092989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 89 p 2

["He." editorial: "Socialism in the GDR Is Not up for Disposition"]

[Text] At present FRG politicians and media are constantly making proposals and rules for the reforms that have to be carried out in the GDR. This barrage of proposals was led by Chancellor Kohl, who demanded "fundamental political, social, and economic reforms" from the GDR leadership. Which fundament should the GDR build? Which foundations should it tear down instead?

It is praiseworthy that Kohl has made various of his party colleagues answer this clearly. The GDR should make reforms to remove socialism. With this goal, State Secretary Hennig of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] again dug up Adenauer's old "Gray Plan," which provides for the "return" of our state-owned enterprises to the property of the monopoly bosses and of the peasant's land to the hands of the junkers. "Forms of a market economy system" and freedom of entrepreneurial—that is, exploitative—activities should come. And for this purpose, the worker-peasant power naturally has to be "replaced" with a bourgeois democracy of the Western type.

Such "reforms" are the ones that are linked with revanchist dreams of reunification in Bonn. In this connection, they are now speaking more clearly of the "re-establishment" of the German Reich within the borders of 1937, for the purpose of which, the first step would logically be the "bringing home" of the GDR. In this spirit, CDU politician Biedenkopf announces: "The political order of postwar Europe is losing its binding nature."

Thus, it is clear what the obnoxious talk about reforms in Bonn has as its goal. However, both the sender and the address are wrong. First, because socialism on German soil is not up for disposition and cannot be bought, either.

Second: We do not need any lessons about reforms, even if the word were meant seriously. The GDR was established through a number of antifascist-democratic reforms, which are still missing in the FRG. Reforms, for instance, which might prevent the FRG increasingly becoming an El Dorado for neo-Nazis.

The building of socialism in the GDR has always been a process of profound changes and reforms in all fields. Today, too—the current passionate dialogue in our country demonstrates this clearly—reforms are urgently necessary in important fields of social life. But when we are facing new, complicated requirements today, we will meet them ourselves, with the initiative, the knowledge, and the specific proposals of the citizens. We do not listen to advice, which is aimed at the re-establishment of capitalist exploitation, profit management, the introduction of mass unemployment, homelessness, social insecurity, and drug abuse. We do not listen to it even if it is decorated with phrases of freedom and human rights—rights, of which millions of people have been deprived in the FRG and for the implementation of which the FRG would need profound political, social, and intellectual reforms.

As I said before: the wrong sender and the wrong address. Reform proposals a la Bonn—no, thank you.

Continuation of Dialogue With FRG Advocated

AU2410102189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Discussion in Wolfenbuettel: Continue FRG-GDR Dialogue"]

[Text] Wolfenbuettel (ADN)—On Tuesday evening [17 October] politicians and scientists from the FRG and GDR held a panel discussion in Wolfenbuettel, advocating the continuation of a frank dialogue between the two German states. Participants in the discussion, which took place within the framework of the 2-week "Days of Meeting With the GDR" and at which Lower Saxony's Minister Heinrich Juergens (Free Democratic Party of Germany) welcomed more than 700 listeners, were Juergen Schmude (Social Democratic Party of Germany), Gerhard Rudolf Baum (Free Democratic Party), Helmut Lippelt (Greens), as well as from the GDR Rolf Reissig of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Georg Grasnick (International Politics and Economics Institute), and Wilhelm Ersil (Babelsberg Academy for State and Law).

The frank exchange of views did not diminish in any way the fact that the responsibility of the two German states for the safeguarding of peace, disarmament, and cooperation in a European house must have priority and that all attempts at interference, destabilization, and rhetoric about reunification are dangerous and harmful to the relations and must be rejected.

The GDR is implementing its own socialist solutions to emerging problems, Professor Reissig stressed. The power of the peoples' representative bodies and socialist democracy are being strengthened, and the parties that exist in the GDR have to fulfill better their task as representatives of the interests of a wide-ranging society. The spectrum of topics that are currently being discussed by different social forces ranges from an economically efficient economy to socialist democracy in practice at all levels to environmental protection and opportunities for travel. The GDR sociologist stressed, however, that there is no question that all reforms have to be carried out within the socialist system and have to be made to improve this system. The GDR will never make merciless competition of capitalism as the motive force the focus of its economic and social system.

FRG Foreign Ministry Official Visits

AU2410095189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Representative of FRG Foreign Ministry Received"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [18 October] GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch received Ambassador Wolf Dietrich Schilling, head of the UN Subdepartment in the FRG Foreign Ministry, for a talk. The interlocutors stressed that everything has to be done to continue to contribute to strengthening the United Nations as the universal forum for the peaceful shaping of international relations, for solving urgent international political, economic, social, and humanitarian problems, and for dialogue on questions of arms limitation and disarmament.

Ambassador Schilling was in Berlin for consultations with Ambassador Hucke, acting head of the UN Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which primarily focused on main political questions of the current 44th session of the UN General Assembly in New York. It was agreed that the consultations will be continued at an appropriate time.

LDPD Chairman Receives Bundestag Delegation

LD2110164289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1445 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—A delegation from the Bundestag group of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] is at the moment, continuing its stay in the city on the Elbe with talks at the area executive of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] in Dresden. The politicians, led

by the chairman of the FDP parliamentary group, Wolfgang Mischnick, were received by the chairman of the LDPD area executive, Joachim von Jagow.

A visit to the Semper Opera is on the guests' program for this evening.

Seminar With Trade Union Cancelled

LD1210204789 Hamburg DPA in German 1538 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—The GDR's Instruction and Education Trade Union (GUE) has cancelled a seminar at short notice with the Education and Science Trade Union (GEW), planned to last 2 years. As the GEW announced in Frankfurt today, the seminar was to have taken place from 15 to 18 October in the Schmoeckwitz area of East Berlin.

GUE Chairwoman Helga Labs cited "wanting to concentrate completely on work within her trade union." In a telephone conversation with GEW Chairman Dieter Wunder, she also cited "attacks by the Western media on socialism in the GDR." The GEW said it received the cancellation with annoyance.

Berlin SPD Members Meet SED Representatives

LD2010144989 Hamburg DPA in German 1303 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Representatives of the Berlin SPD [Social Democratic Party] have, it was announced today, 1 day after the change of leadership in the GDR, met members of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee in East Berlin for confidential talks. On the West Berlin side, according to the SPD newspaper BERLINER STIMME, MP Harry Ristock and the former parliamentary Vice President Alexander Longolius took part. After the talks, held yesterday, Ristock spoke of positive signs of a start in the reform process in the GDR. He is confident that this would become visible in a few days time in various areas, such as press diversity, possibilities for travel, and restructuring in state-owned enterprises.

SPD in the GDR for dialogue

In the view of the newly founded Social Democratic Party (SDP) in the GDR, the SPD should continue its policy of dialogue with the SED, but also maintain or seek contact with other social groups in the GDR. The policy of small steps has generally had a positive effect for the GDR population, SDP spokesman Stephan Hilsberg said in a telephone interview with BERLINER STIMME. The 33-year-old programmer explained that the newly founded party is pursuing "the model of consistent implementation of a two-state Germany." The SDP claims to have 500 members in the GDR.

SDP Applies to Socialist International

AU2010210589 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Oct 89 p 10

[Unattributed item: "Working For Social Democracy"]

[Text] At its meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November, the Council of the Socialist International (SI) will discuss the application for membership filed by the GDR Social Democratic Party (SDP). It was received by SI President Willy Brandt on 11 October. DIE WELT publishes the text:

Application for Membership in the Socialist International

Today the signatories have founded the Social Democratic Party [SDP] in the German Democratic Republic. They state that they are in full agreement with the principle, declared by the group that initiated the forming of an SDP in the GDR, that they will work for an ecologically oriented social democracy.

The members of the SDP in the GDR are seeking to cooperate with all democratic initiatives, groups, and persons in their country, irrespective of their ideological and social bonds.

In view of the GDR's foreign and domestic policy situation, the SDP members consider it necessary for a party with democratic goals to work for the consistent democratization of the state and society now.

The initiators' appeal for founding a social democratic party in the GDR has been disseminated since 26 August 1989. The discussion on the declared principles illustrate the necessity of counteracting the increasing destabilization of our country by substantive and structural obligations [Verbindlichkeiten] now, and in this way to contributing to a democratic development.

As the attached statutes illustrate, the SDP members consider themselves a community in the sense of a democratic people's party the highest guidelines of which are a social market economy, a consistent policy of disarmament and detente, working for all collective and individual human and civil rights, and unreservedly backing the interests of the poorer countries in the world.

The SDP program will be drafted soon and will be presented by the Presidium of the SDP in the GDR to its members.

By order of the founding meeting and the Presidium of the SDP in the GDR,

Boehme

FDP's Mischnick Notes Reform Pressure on Krenz

LD2310082589 Hamburg DPA in German 0002 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Dortmund/Dresden (DPA)—Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] Lower House group, is convinced that the "change" in the GDR announced by the new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary is meant seriously.

After his talks with SED Dresden area leader Hans Modrow and representatives of the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDPD), Mischnick said in an interview with the Dortmund-published WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU (Monday edition) that the two parties sought "genuine changes" in order to overcome "what has been called lack of prospects."

The FDP politician considers Krenz not to be an "interim solution." It had become clear in the talks, Mischnick said, that Erich Honecker's successor "is under pressure of having to come up with results in the near future."

Mischnick emphasized that decisions that "will benefit the citizens," had to be taken in the GDR by the time the SED congress was held in May 1990. In all the talks it was noticeable that the leadership was aware of the fact that it could not count on confidence prematurely. In particular, a decision is essential with regard to travel before next summer.

Mischnick said that the announcement by the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman fof opportunities for GDR citizens who had left to return was "right and good." In this respect, lessons had been learned "from the mistakes made in the past."

An edited version of the interview was pre-released to DPA by the paper.

Research Protocol Signed With Poland

LD2010163289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2205 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—A protocol on research cooperation between the GDR and Poland for the 1991-1995 period was signed today in Torun at the conclusion of the joint higher education commission meeting. The document stimulates a further move away from the practice of centrally laying down the research topics to be worked on by both countries' institutes of higher education and in its place recommends greater direct cooperation between institutions.

The agreement was preceeded by an exchange of experiences lasting several days on the more efficient fashioning of institutional organization. Increasing the degree of efficiency in fulfilling research plans was also discussed.

The commission decided to set up a joint information bank which will give information on plans or topics already being tackled by colleges.

Kessler Arrives in Nicaragua for Visit

LD1610013689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2253 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Managua (ADN)—A GDR military delegation arrived in Managua today for a friendly visit to Nicaragua. It is led by the defense minister, Army General Heinz Kessler. The delegation was invited by the Nicaraguan defense minister, Army General Umberto Ortega Saavedra.

During an initial exchange of views, the ministers reported on the social policy and military developments in their countries and regions, and on their countries' fight for peace and disarmament. The interlocutors agreed in emphasizing the fact that there can be no interruption to the proces of detente and disarmament. The recent progress in these areas is encouraging.

Discusses Cooperation

LD1610110989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2346 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Managua (ADN)—The Nicaraguan defense minister, Army General Umberto Ortega Saavedra, at the start of a visit by a GDR military delegation led by Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, has advocated the further consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between the two states and their leading parties.

The FSLN [Sandanist National Liberation Front] continues purposefully its course to stabilize the economy and to remove the results of the war which was forced upon Nicaragua, minister Ortega said in Managua yesterday. It seeks to improve the living conditions of the population, promote the process of national reconciliation, and defend national sovereignty as well as the achievements of the Sandinista revolution.

The GDR military delegation laid wreaths for the heroes of the liberation struggle of the Nicaraguan people The deputation arrived in Managua the same day.

Talks of Peace

AU1810151789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 89 p 1

[ND/ADN report: "GDR Defense Minister Received in Managua"]

[Text] Managua (ND/ADN)—On Monday [16 October] Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and GDR minister of national defense, was received for a talk by Nicaragua's Vice President Sergio

Ramirez and by Defense Minister Army General Humberto Ortega Saavedra in Managua. During the meeting they discussed questions of international politics and of safeguarding peace.

As Sergio Ramirez and Army General Humberto Ortega Saavedra stated, over the past 14 days the Contras have intensified their attacks, in particular those on the civilian population. The goal of these activities is, above all, to prevent a victory of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] at the presidential and parliamentary elections which will take place in February. The Nicaraguan Armed Forces are countering the terrorist attacks with the mandate of the people to preserve and protect the achievements of the revolution. In this connection, Sergio Ramirez and Humberto Ortega Saavedra, member of the FSLN National Directorate, explained the experiences of the Sandinists in the struggle against the counterrevolution and against ideological diversion.

The partners in the talks concurred that only political solutions can eliminate hotbeds of conflict. Any possibility for detente and disarmament, for confidence-building, and for consolidating international security must be used to strengthen peace in the world.

Army General Heinz Kessler affirmed the high responsibility of the National People's Army for the protection of peace and socialism at the sensitive border line between the two social systems as well as for strengthening the GDR in the economic field. Successes in the disarmament process, in confidence-building and detente are evident. Nevertheless, there are influential forces in the FRG and in other NATO states, who are talking a lot about peace, but do not let their words be followed by deeds.

While the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states are unilaterally reducing their armaments, armed forces, and defense budgets, NATO is not responding appropriately. Therefore, the GDR's peace policy will continue to be linked with vigilance and efforts to strengthen the readiness for defense. The worker-peasant power on German soil and the construction work of the people will remain untouched in the future, too.

Nicaragua's Ortega Arrives for 'Short Visit'

LD1910165589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega arrived in the GDR for a short visit this afternoon, following official visits to a number of Arab states. The guest was welcomed at Berlin Schoenefeld airport by Social Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Hermann Axen.

A meeting between Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Daniel Ortega is planned for this evening.

Meets Krenz

LD1910201189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1826 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A cordial meeting was held this evening in Berlin-Niederschoenhausen between Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, and Daniel Ortega, president of the republic of Nicaragua. Daniel Ortega congratulated Egon Krenz on his election as general secretary. Both sides paid tribute to the long years of friendly cooperation between the GDR and Nicaragua.

Daniel Ortega arrived for a short stopover visit in the GDR this afternoon after official visits to several Arab states.

Report on Talks

LD1910212489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2006 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Nicaragua intend to continue to make the greatest contribution to securing peace, to disarmament, detente, and the peaceful settlement. Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR's Council of State, and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, underscored this during a friendly meeting in Berlin today. Ortega had arrived in the GDR in the afternoon for a short stopover after official visits to several Arab states.

President Ortega congratulated Egon Krenz on his election to his new and responsible party function. The strengthening of the GDR also means the strengthening of the Nicaraguan revolution. Both sides said that the results of their cooperation so far will be further cosolidated and expanded, and assured each of mutual solidarity and support.

In the evening Egon Krenz gave a dinner in honor of the Nicaraguan president. Taking part in this were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; foreign ministers Oskar Fischer and Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann; as well as other officials.

PCI's Occhetto Visits Budapest for Talks

PM1910155089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 17 Oct 89 p 5

[Fabrizio Rondolino dispatch: "Occhetto In the Hungary of Change"]

[Text] Budapest—"The whole history of the PCI, with its political and theoretical stances, contributed to the decisions that we adopted at the latest congress." Presidential candidate Imre Pozsgay received his Italian guests at the huge neo-Gothic building on the Danube that houses the Hungarian Parliament. He illustrated to [Italian Communist Party (PCI) Secretary General] Achille Occhetto and [PCI Foreign Policy and International Relations Commission chief] Giorgio Napolitano Hungary's variegated political landscape and the stances of its new Socialist Party. He recalled the PCI congress, which he attended as a guest. He recognized Italian Communists as an important reference point for the forces in Hungary fighting for renewal.

In their rapid visit to Budapest, the restless capital of the country furthest ahead on the road to democratization, Occhetto and Napolitano were able to observe at first hand the profundity of the decisions made by the leadership group of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the significance of the present challenge, and the steadfastness with which this challenge is being faced. They were the first representatives of a western party to be invited to Budapest after the congress that changed both the name and the nature of the old MSZMP—"a monster," according to Pozsgay. This is no coincidence. In the complex situation that has come about in the East European countries the idea of a possible reunification of the left-wing forces on both sides of what was for long years called the "iron curtain" no longer belongs to the realm of dreams. The PCI and Hungarian Socialist Party, which share many thing by virtue of being "frontier" forces seeking new paths at the national and supranational levels, therefore have good reasons for working together. "We definitely encouraged the Hungarian Socialist Party," Occhetto aid, "to take bold steps toward all socialist forces—including the Italian Socialist Party [PSI], of course—at all levels. We also encouraged," he added, "the quest for full relations with the Socialist International." This is an issue now fully on the PCI's own political agenda.

It was Rezso Nyers, party chairman and leader of the reformists, who proposed to Occhetto the formation of a bilateral working group to examine the future of the European Left at all levels. The working group will also deal with European integration, the single market, and relations with the rest of Europe, and informal discussions will be conducted on security matters. But it was the first point that prompted the most curiosity and interest. "Our parties," Occhetto said, "are both considering building full relations with the Socialist International." Of course, he explained, all the socialist forces must have "the same assessment both of the possible gradual nature of this process and of its substance." Especially, Occhetto added, since several possibilities are under consideration among the socialist forces themselves. In other words, Occhetto said, "organizational matters" must not be made the priority.

One thing is certain, however: The course of the new European Left has now begun. This, at a time when in both East and West the redefinition and relocation of the forces at play is now proceeding rapidly. On the broad avenue named for the People's Republic, which the inhabitants of Budapest still call Andrassy—the name of independent Hungary's foreign minister—and which after the war was named for Stalin, there stands an elegant fin-de-siecle building. Here Nyers received the PCI delegation early in the morning, with a smile and much handshaking. "Our traditional relations with the PCI," he said, "are more complete, so to speak." What about with the PSI? "We would like," he said, "to build and develop relations of cooperation and alliance." The controversy—proceeding precisely from Hungary's "new course"—that has tainted relations within the Italian Left seems to worry him somewhat. Occhetto said later: "Events in Hungary could have been an additional subject of joint work by the PCI and PSI. Instead—and through no fault of ours—they have resulted in an entirely futile controversy." However, the Communist leader seemed optimistic. Partly because, he said, "the real contest between us and the Socialist comrades is over how to help the democratization process."

Occhetto's lengthy conversation with Nyers—the man who embodies Hungary's new course better than anyone else—was "very satisfactory." The PCI secretary general said that there have been "substantive changes within the Hungarian party" that the PCI had been urging for some time and that bring the two organizations "much closer than before." "Many of the Hungarian Socialist Party's gains," Occhetto went on, "have long been among our assets: the option for democracy and pluralism; the rejection of 'models,' from the dictatorship of the proletariat to Marxist-Leninist dogma; the divorce from any idea of an 'international communist movement'..." Nyers and Occhetto recalled the autumn of 1977 when, before a frosty audience in Moscow, Enrico Berlinguer, celebrating the 60th anniversary of the red October—in his own inimitable way—stressed the "universal value of democracy." How many novelties there have been since then. Now that "universal value" features in the Hungarian Socialist Party's statutes. Nor does the emphasis that the Hungarians place on the PCI's own researches and on that party's endeavor to facilitate renewal in Eastern Europe sound like a mere formality. The PCI secretary general attended the reburial of Imre Nagy ("an active communist and freedom fighter," Occhetto called him) to "pay due tribute" and to "rectify an erroneous assessment," but also, and perhaps chiefly, to "help the reform process." And Nyers is grateful to him for this.

So while the aim is what Italian Communists call "complete democratization," the starting points in East and

West are very different. Occhetto said: On the one hand there is "state capitalism," "bureaucratic collectivism," and on the other a market needing a "democratization process extending through the whole of society." But the horizons are now the same. The PCI's pledge is now twofold, Napolitano explained: to help the process of reunification of the European Left and to stimulate and support all Italian Government actions (starting with the "quadrilateral" initiative involving Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia announced by [Foreign Minister] De Michelis) that will specifically help Hungary's renewal.

Soviet Envoy Discusses 1956, Issues Warning

LD2010042589 Budapest MTI in English 2229 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—The Gyor organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) held a debating forum on Thursday. Mr Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, attended the event.

Mr Stukalin reported about the processes taking place in his country, and then said that there were no differences in views or opinions between Hungary and the Soviet Union on any single key issue. However, he added that difficulties had come up in the past year in economic relations. The elimination of these is what has to be worked on in the coming period, Mr Stukalin said.

In connection with the Hungarian events of 1956, Mr Stukalin warned that the mood being stirred up at the moment regarding the intervention of Soviet troops does not serve the interests of either people. He stressed that the current position of the Soviet Union is that it shows respect for the internal affairs of all socialist countries, and for the principle of non-interference. It is the right of the Hungarian people to qualify the events of 1956 as they please, the most important point with respect to the future is that the conclusions be drawn and lessons of the errors of the past learnt, Mr Stukalin said.

Asked whether the Soviet Union would agree to the creation of Hungarian-Soviet relations that resemble the Finish-Soviet relations, the ambassador said: We know from experience that it leads to no good if we transfer one sort of model to another relation without changes.

1956 Reviewed, 23 Oct Celebrated First Time

Interior Ministry on Celebration

LD2010173689 Budapest MTI in English 1501 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Hungarian police are to contribute to the smooth organization of events marking the anniversary of the popular uprising of October 23, 1956, in keeping with the relevant legal regulations, says a statement forwarded to MTI by the Ministry of the Interior.

The police, who will maintain peaceful demonstrations and participate in temporary traffic limitations, will carry out their duties unarmed in order to promote confidence.

The Ministry of the Interior requests the political parties and organizations to hold the celebrations in a fitting manner and refrain from extremist manifestations which would undermine the country's reputation. The conduct of participants should demonstrate consensus and reconciliation as evidence of an advanced political culture and Europeanism. All law-abiding citizens will be required to promote this end.

1956 Army Acts To Be Investigated

LD2010204689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1425 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Relay of the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Speaker Lajos Horvath] Dr. Janos Marton, National List, has the right to speak. [passage omitted]

[Marton] There are three social strata which I would like to have examined especially from the point of view of the way rehabilitation idea affects them: these are the civil servants, the teachers, and especially the professional soldiers. [passage omitted] In the past few days, I got a hold of a book which, I believe the minister of defense and the Army must respond to. This book is about our ex-minister of defense, and is written by a soldier who was head of faculty at the Miklos Zrinyi Academy. But I don't want to speak about this, but about those soldiers who were left in the lurch by this kind of leader in 1956, about those captains, lieutenants, majors and colonels who were left without a commander and who, because of the panicking higher leadership, were left to their own conscience or to the orders of the government.

These soldiers, therefore, often made decisions for which some were later not even ashamed to desert their subordinate soldiers or even the country, and acted with a double sense of vengeance after the crushing of the uprising by the invading Soviet Army; to imprison one by one, to sentence to death or to several years in prison the honest Hungarian soldiers. [sentence as heard]

I think, therefore, that we are also talking about the restoring of military honor and about compensation for the three especially loser strata which I have mentioned already, for they lost their profession not only during their years in prison, but they practically had no possibility for further employment. Precisely as a result of that, the overwhelming majority of these people are small pensioners, even among the small pensioners themselves. I think that this must be very much taken into account when further measures are introduced, and it is my conviction that the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Defense, too, will take care of this decently, true to their own honor and to decency.

[Speaker Lajos Horvath] Is the prime minister asking for leave to speak? Yes...Miklos Nemeth.

[Nemeth] I have asked for leave to speak because Janos Marton raised an issue that touches closely both the government, the minister of defense, and through this the Hungarian People's Army as well. The minister of defense is affected because of the book by Imre Bokor, Army colonel, in which mention is made of the former as well as the current leaders of the Army. The government is affected because in the knowledge of such a reference, such a book, it is our duty to respond to the contents of this and I feel it is the fundamental political duty of all of us, the government as well as the National Assembly, to maintain and guard, in accordance with our former stances and resolution, the Army's prestige in the eyes of society and the intactness of the Hungarian Army and defense forces in the present political situation with every means.

Therefore, at the initiative of the minister of defense, after last night's government session, we decided that for the examination of the references and statements in the book, the Council of Ministers requests the chairman of the Defense Committee of the National Assembly to form a committee to carry out a kind of ethical investigation. We shall inform public opinion about the outcome of the investigation of this committee.

This announcement was also made at the briefing by the government spokesman today. This is why I deemed to be my duty to announce it here as well.

Szuros Declares New Republic

LD2310125989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1101 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Speech by National Assembly Speaker Matyas Szuros at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] My fellow countrymen, Hungarians all over the world, my foreign friends!

I speak to the inhabitants of our country from the Parliament, to all those who take to heart the fate of Hungary. I turn to those who are watching our rising path with understanding and sympathy from outside our borders, who support our people in their endeavors resulting in fundamental changes.

As provisional president of the Republic, I greet from this place the citizens of our country, our friends abroad. I ceremonially announce that, with the declaration of the Constitution amended by the National Assembly, as from today, 23 October 1989, our country's state form and name is the Republic of Hungary. [prolonged applause, fanfare]

Fellow countrymen, esteemed festive audience! Now, approaching the end of the 20th century, in creating a free, democratic Hungary, we are progressing in the footsteps of the previous Hungarian republics linked to the names of Lajos Kossuth, Mihaly Karolyi, and Zoltan Tildy, when in the spirit of their democratic and national traditions and promoted by the historical lessons of the past 40 years, especially the popular uprising and national independence action of October 1956 [applause], we are creating the legal bases of the new Republic. This is the overture to a new historical period on the path of our state's democratic transformation.

While we reveal and admit the past, we must turn our eyes firmly toward the future. Our resolute intention is that in accordance with our people's will, which it soon will be able to express in free, democratic elections [applause], we should travel the path we have begun to the end. The Republic of Hungary will be an independent, democratic, legal state, in which [applause] the values of both bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism are asserted, in which our fellow countrymen, of the Magyar and other nationalities, find what they expect: Prosperity, and what they can view as a secure home. [applause]

The new Republic feels responsibility for the fate of the Magyars who live outside our borders [applause], and it promotes the fostering of their relations with Hungary. As part of the world's progressive and democratic range, we wish to step forward into the international arena, to accelerate our country's catching-up with the ranks of the developed countries. [applause]

We are developing our Eastern and Western relations, thereby contributing to the unification of Europe, to the creation of its security, and to a solution of the world's universal problems. [applause]

We invariably regard it as being in our country's national interest to develop our relations with our great neighbor the Soviet Union, in an undisturbed and balanced manner. [whistling and clamor, no applause] At the same time, we endeavour for good cooperation with the other leading world power, the United States of America. [applause]

We consider it to be our basic national interest to foster good- neighborly relationship with neighboring countries. [applause] We wish to strengthen the solidarity and friendship of the peoples along the Danube in the spirit of mutual respect and esteem. [applause]

We will continue the foreign policy of opening up. We wish to be active participants in international exchange and cooperation in the economy and science, in culture, and in the assertion of human rights. [applause]

Esteemed festive audience, my fellow countrymen! In the spirit of the thoughts and endeavors linked to the homeland, to progress, to national solidarity and democracy, and to humanism, I appeal to everyone for consistent action and persistent work, in the interest of the country's better future. [applause] Only with joint strength can we lift the country out from sinking into the depths, and create the material and intellectual conditions for freedom, democracy, and well-being. The

people deserve, finally, good feeling and abundance in the Danube-Tisza region. [applause]

Let the new Republic of Hungary be long-lived, and happier than its predecessors! [applause] My fellow countrymen, Hungarians, our foreign guests: In conclusion, and first and foremost, on this outstanding day I wish for peace on Earth and peace between peoples! [applause]

Budapest Gatherings Mark Uprising

LD2310143189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Commemorations of the 1956 popular uprising have begun in Budapest. Jozsef Orosz and Peter Laszlo report:

[Unidentified correspondent] "To the memory of the martyrs and anonymous heroes of the 1956 freedom fight and revolution"; this inscription can be read on the marble plaque that is being unveiled by Mrs Pal Maleter, among others, on the wall of the Kilian barracks at the corner of Ulloi Street and Ferenc Avenue.

In front of the barracks, the one-time barracks, about 3,000 people are remembering Pal Maleter who died a hero's death and who was the commander, then defense minister, who met the national guard of the Corvin Close [famous site of one of the battles in Budapest in the 1956 uprising] on 25 October 1956 the first time. Maleter gave them weapons and afterwards, together they fought the Soviet tanks.

The Budapest commemoration of the 23 October Committee started an hour ago in Corvin Close. On behalf of the Ferencvaros oppostion roundtable, Levente Ruttkai said: "today is the day of rememberance, which can only be deeper if the guilty ones and their successors apoligize to the nation."

Another speaker of the 23 October Committee, (Robert Szirmai) said, I quote: Down with the communism against which the people rose 33 years ago, and down also with the communism that has opressed the people for the past 33 years. One of the banners said: 'Long live the real great October revolution.' During the speeches, there were people who demanded that the Hungarian Government and the Soviet troops leave, to which one of the speakers replied: Today, no one should be led by revenge, but by reverential forgiveness. However those in authority must apologize to the people.

Rally Commemorates 1956 Events

LD2310180589 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—1,500 people assembled in front of the technical university of Budapest on Monday to attend the event held by the October 23 Committee to commemorate the anniversary of the 1956 revolution and fight for independence. The first speaker was Istvan Marian, commander of the former military department of the technical university and a participant in the 1956 popular uprising. He was followed by Imre Mecs, who was originally sentenced to death for his role in the 1956 events, and is today a leading politician of the Alliance of Free Democrats. He honoured the memory of the victims of 1956 and those of the following reprisals. He stressed that the demands of the technical university students voiced in 1956 are still valid and are about to enter effect. 'The present great revolution is fulfilling the demands of 1956 without bloodshed,' he said.

Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD2310180889 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—In the afternoon, a wreathlaying ceremony was held at the monument of Hungarian heroes on the Heroes' Square of Budapest. Speeches were delivered by Tibor Hornyak and Tibor Zimanyi, who served prison terms for their involvement in the events of 1956. After a public reading of Albert Camus's "The Hungarians' Blood", representatives of the opposition organizations laid wreaths and flowers on the monument. Present was a guard of honour of the Hungarian People's Army.

TV Shows 23 October Rally

LD2310220489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1655 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Live relay of rally to mark 23 October anniversary celebrations in Kossuth Square in Budapest]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified coordinator] Today the Hungarian people are celebrating freely for the first time the anniversary of the 1956 uprising—revolution—the 33d to be precise. Even according to the most cautious estimates, there are over 100,000 of us here on Kussuth Lajos Square. This enormous sea of people has flooded here during the day in three streams. The procession began at 1300 in the afternoon at the Corvin Close; the procession went on the Kilian Barracks and from there to the radio building; then it arrived here on Kossuth Square. The other procession assembled outside the central building of the Technical University and arrived here via the Bem Square. It arrived a short while ago at around 1745. The third procession assembled at 1530 on Heroes' Square, and it has arrived here. [crowd heard singing throughout]

The crowd has been singing and is now applauding the Szekler Anthem. [applause] This ceremony, which as I said began at 1300 this afternoon and has now reached its peak with this mass rally, was organized by the 23 October Committee, which groups together 23 opposition parties and organizations. The organizers wanted this to be a day above parties politics so I will not even list those parties and organizations which have organized this ceremony. [passage omitted]

Now we will hear Vilmos Bereczki [Smallholder Party secretary responsible for press and international relations]

[Bereczki] Compatriots, Hungarians, esteemed festive audience, the time has come, after 33 years, when we can freely celebrate 23 October in the reborn Hungarian Republic. [crowd shouts "Long Live!" followed by prolonged applause] 23 October is the anniversary of the 1956 revolution and the freedom struggle, which most Hungarians celebrate as their national day signifying freedom and democracy. [cheers and applause]

Just 1 year ago we commemorated this event of global historic significance under the threat of police cordons, water cannons and rubber truncheons [booing and whistling]. Although those in power today have so far prevented this day from being the red letter day of people's sovereignty, we nevertheless trust and know that our next democratically elected National Assembly, serving the common will, will inaugurate this day as our national holiday. [huge cheering and applause, followed by chanting "We Demand It!" repeated a dozen or so times]

On behalf of the 23 October Committee, which groups together the 23 opposition organizations, I open the first free 23 October celebration. [cheering and applause, followed by singing of the national anthem] [passage omitted]

According to the original program 30 minutes ago the next speaker was to be Gyorgy Krasso, but now Jeno Fonay [chairman of the Federation of Political Detainees] has leave to speak.

[Fonay] My dear brothers, Magyars, after 33 years of painful march we are here again in front of these proud walls. Thank the god of Magyars for allowing us, the participants of those days, to be here again with our daughters and sons to commemorate this again today. With the truth of 1956 we demand that the Hungarian Republic declared today should be the happy and independent state of the Magyar people not only on paper but in reality too.

[Word indistinct] We are expected to see today as a day of national commemoration; we have been commemorating for 33 years. We remembered it while behind prison bars; we remembered it while in enforced silence for decades; we also remembered it last year when we had to be satisfied with the truths being uttered in undertones. However, we always dared to say the last words of our best compatriots: Long live free independent Hungary. [passage omitted]

If we look ahead and identify ourselves with all the demands of 1956 in this new reformed world, then we still have a good deal to do. There is no doubt that peaceful reconciliation is the greatest task. To find reconciliation at a time when it is impossible to forget—regretfully we are not allowed to forget because day after day we face the discriminations which started at the time of reprisals and which still exist to this day; we face the pains of the persecuted tired people which live to this day, with the horrible difference between people. The words which are fed to us day in day out may have meaning but the changes happen at a snail's pace. Even this slowness is held back by the stalwarts of the old system [akarnok], as far as persons who were unjustly positively discriminated against are concerned. [passage omitted]

There is plenty to forgive. However, I must state now that so far, apart from people who looked into their souls, nobody has ever asked for forgiveness so far. We still do not know who and what we must apologize for. This task undoubtedly lies before us if we wish to speak about a reconciled nation; perhaps this is our only chance. [passage omitted] Let us love one another. As the star of 1956 glows increasingly brightly, here on top of the Parliament the other one has gone out. [momentous applause] [passage omitted]

Long live our national holiday, 23 October! Long live you our Hungarian brothers, our brave and true people who have elevated it to a holiday! God bless the Magyars!

[Coordinator] That was Jeno Fonay, deputy commander of the Szena Square armed group who spent 21 days in the condemned cell [siralomhaz] after being sentenced to death. He spent 6 years in prison and was freed in 1963.

The next speaker is Gyula Obersovszky [cheers] journalist, born 1926, the founding chief editor of TRUTH, the popular paper of the revolution. [passage omitted]

[Obersovszky] My friends, it is a great honor for me after a long silence lasting decades to speak again on this beautiful day, 23 October. [passage omitted] I understood my friend Viktor Orban very well [cheering and applause] by the flames of the candelabras on 16 June [day of Imre Nagy's reburial]. [passage omitted] He was apolitical, they said, my friend Viktor; he was exaggerating, they said. For god's sake, when should a person be apolitical and exaggerating if not during his twenties? [passage omitted] In any case I don't understand why he was supposed to be apolitical. At most because he wanted the occupying troops out of our homeland? [applause, cheering and repeated chanting "Let's Send Them Home!] Since then even Moscow is doing this. Moscow will soon agree with the patriotic wish more than our own patriots do. [passage omitted] Yes, Moscow by now is more progressive, more patriotic, with regard to our ideas, than those patriots who settled the fate of the homeland. Let it be to Moscow's honor. It is with a happy feeling that I look toward Moscow, and it is beautiful to say, and perhaps also to hear it coming from my mouth, that I am rooting, rooting, for Gorbachev! [cheers and rhythmic shouting: "Gorbi, Gorbi, Gorbi!"] [passage omitted]

What is more, but an entirely different sense, I am also rooting for Washington, for President Bush [cheers and applause] whose hand I have not had the good fortune to shake—there were others more eligible to do this, more worthy, let us say. However, I will not miss the opportunity which now offers itself to shake the hand, at least

in my imagination, of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, if only in retrospect, for his inestimable merits in having introduced a kind of melody into the world, a tuneful melody, a melody that permeates even to these Eastern regions which were doubley, trebley, afflicted by who knows what divine intention. It is my conviction that if the two of them had stood at the head of the super powers—which in the last resort determine what happens in the world—then things would have turned out differently from the way they did. [passage omitted]

[Coordinator] The festivity's next orator is Gyorgy Krasso. [head of the Hungarian October party] [passage omitted]

[Krasso] Comrades, [catcalls and whistling heard in the crowd] Comrades, this is how a speech began which was delivered 33 years ago, in these minutes, by the well-intentioned veteran politician, who believed and hoped that communism could be reconciled with Magyardom. We are not comrades, 100,000 (?voices) shouted back! We are Magyars. [cheering, hailing, applause] It was these words, it was with this nonreconciliation, that on 23 October 1956, here, where we are now standing, the Magyar people's revolution and fight for freedom, which was unique in our century, pure enough to bring tears to one's eyes, honest, courageous and victorious, and later trampled down, began. The Magyars said it is enough. We have had enough of absolutism, of rights being trampled underfoot. We have had enough of the Russian occupation. [clapping heard, then the crowd shouts out in unison "It is enough, it is enough"]

We vow, they vowed, that we will no longer be prisoners. This is what was pledged by 100,000 people here, with their hands raised, who did not believe that communism was reconciliable with Magyardom. On this day, during those minutes, there developed the exceptional, resolute national unity, and solidarity, which the authorities wanted so much, and which it has desired since then; Yet these feelings were not for them but against them, against despotism and foreign occupation, for the country's freedom and independence, for a better future. [passage omitted]

My friends, 33 years have elapsed [words indistinct] We have come together every year, persecuted, in secret, behind closed doors, on this day, on the day of the people's sovereignty. Today, too, 100,000 of us have assembled, brought here not by the command of the authorities, but of our hearts. Again we want change. Again we are demanding freedom. Again we are advocating our homeland's independence. Again we are hungry for bread and we are hungry for truthful words. Again, we want to believe and hope, just as we did on that other October spring day; Again we do not believe those who have deceived us. [passage omitted] The Magyars took advantage of opportunities 33 years ago, they did not preoccupy themselves with fate, they did not preoccupy themselves with the dealings of the small and large powers. They took their fate in hand, and not for the first time in their history, carried out deeds which gave the entire world back a faith in people, in a people endowed with intelligence and free will. They also gave back a faith in the ideals which had been discredited in East and West, in the ideals of freedom, equality, fraternity. They showed purely, without compromise, the common will, desires, endeavors of all the oppressed, down trodden nations of Eastern-central Europe.

Now again we are facing a turning point in fate. Now again they are telling us to be patient. Now again they are telling us that they will sort everything out, for us and without us. Now again they are telling us to trust in an authority which has been repainted, from red to red, white and green. They say that this day should be a day of national unity and reconciliation.

Unity and reconciliation? With whom? With our butchers? With our occupiers? [loud shouting and applause] Should I be on greeting terms with the wielders, with the wolves in lambskin, who until recently humiliated and persecuted us? With petty, wheeling-and-dealing politicians who allude to the people but who everyday outwit the people? With cheating card- players, who talk about a legal state, but who see that a deceiving list-based electoral law is adopted by their illegitimate parliament? With little kings, who still strike fear into the hearts of the country's people, and owing to whom the long-standing radical participants in the democratic opposition movement at this moment must conduct a sit down strike in front of the Ministry of Interior building for their civil rights? With the bureaucrats who are insensitive to human suffering, who brought the country to bankruptcy, and because of whom millions from day to day end up in ever deeper and hopeless misery? [passage omitted] [shouting and applause]

However, my friends, let us make peace with one another. Let us put aside our petty differences. Let us be together like we were 33 years ago. Let us enter into an alliance against despotism, an alliance, for our freedom and our independence, in our struggle and resolve for a rule of the working man and legality. Let us have confidence in one another. We ask our neighbors, we ask the countries of the North and South, the East and West, to help, and not hamper the Magyar people's constructive activity, the new conquest of the homeland, which can only be based on the revolutionary ideals of 1956, and for which Hungarian youth gave their blood. [applause] [passage omitted] Even the names of those who resorted to armed force and those cynical people who wished to salvage their power will be long forgotten when the world remembers and girds with respect the heroes of the 1956 Hungarian revolution and the fight for freedom. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Holds Budapest National Meeting

Nemeth Sends Greetings

LD2010154289 Budapest MTI in English 2135 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has sent a letter of greetings to the

national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) scheduled to open on Friday in Budapest.

"The government very much appreciates the national responsibility and commitment shown by the Hungarian Democratic Forum at the political coordination talks and in other forums of public life.

"The HDF is already a political force whose constructive opposition is one of the major factors of political stability", Mr Nemeth wrote.

Conference Agenda Listed

LD2010200889 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—The 2nd national conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) opened on Friday in the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. The some 20,000 HDF members are represented by 850 delegates. The agenda for the first work day of the three-day conference includes an evaluation of the home and foreign political situation, and discussions about the organization's economic and political programme, its election strategy, and amendment of the statute.

The HDF Congress is attended by representatives of the Polish Solidarity, the European Democratic Union, the Austrian People's Party, the Socialist Party of Austria, the Italian Socialist Party, the Italian Christian Democrat Party, and the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union] of the FRG. Also present at the conference are several leaders and members of the diplomatic corps in Budapest, including Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union.

Szuros Receives Forum Delegates

LD2010220289 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, on Friday received in Parliament the delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), which arrived from the national meeting of the HDF. The delegation is led by Sandor Csoori.

Mr Csoori highly appreciated the work of the National Assembly in the past period. He stressed that the opposition organizations are ready to cooperate with all forces whose goal is to better the country's lot. Mr Szuros said that Parliament enacted the key laws by rising above the individual and party interests, mainly focusing on serving the rise of the nation.

Budapest Radio on Proceedings

LD2110181289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] We now connect the Karl Marx University of Economics. Andras Domany reports on the national meeting of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]:

[Domany] The delegates here do not see into the future, but they have tried to adopt their political program. At the moment, they have voted only on certain details. Nor is this entirely free of complications, because, for example in the agrarian program, at first it was accepted in principle that it should be possible to demand compensation for the lands which were taken away, nationalized or redistributed in the most various ways after 1945. Then, this point was withdrawn, and it was said that there is not enough money in Hungary to satisfy these demands. So the program-point has to be reworked. An important standpoint was adopted in the matter of abortions, that they fight against it from a moral and ethical viewpoint, but they do not wish to restrict it legally; they respect the rights of women.

It appears very certain that Jozsef Antall really will become the organization's president, and that Lajos Fuer will be the MDF's candidate for president of Republic, but the voting by secret ballot will only take place later.

For the sake of interest I shall say that there were 87 people from among the delegates to the MDF national meeting, who proposed that Imre Pozsgay be nominated for the office of president of Republic.

It is also interesting, and contains some political spiciness, that the Polish Solidarity delegation arrived late to this national meeting. The head of the delegation, Zbigniew Janas, who is a deputy in the Polish parliament and a member of the foreign affairs committee, said that they simply were not allowed to go through Czechoslovakia and for this reason they were compelled to arrive by a longer route. This longer route—this is also interesting—was via Soviet Union, which, without any further ado, they were able to travel through.

Now, therefore, a debate on the program-point and the election of the president and candidate for head of state is to take place. Tomorrow, the national meeting of the MDF will conclude with a discussion of the election campaign program.

Conference Ending Reported

LD2210015389 Budapest MTI in English 2226 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Participants to the Second National Conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), which ended here on Saturday evening, ratified MDF's manifesto, with the exception of the drafts on the economic and agricultural programme and the chapters concerning the workers councils. The

mentioned chapters of the manifesto are to be amended by the party's work groups, in conformity to the memberships opinion. The ratification of the manifesto is due within six weeks.

In the frame of section meetings, the working group debating over the foreign policy draft, the concept that Hungary should carry on a "realpolitik" between East and West was established as correct. An example that could be followed in this is either the Finnish or the Austrian model of neutrality. Concurrently, the fostering of good relations with neighbouring nations, was termed as an increasingly important task.

During the plenary session, participants nominated Lajos Fur, member of the party's presidium, as MDF's presidential candidate. For the post of MDF's Presidium, Jozsef Antall was nominated. The result of the voting is to be published on Sunday.

During the conference, the letter sent by Laszlo Tokes, the persecuted Romanian priest of the reformed church community in Timisoara, to Nicolae Ceausescu was read out. The letter is a notice of appeal about the situation of his parish and that of Timisoara.

In its position taken on the matter, MDF proposes to the superpowers to exert their influence and diplomatic means in order to try to put an end to the persecution of the natioanl minorities and progressive Romanian intellectuals in Romania.

Antall MDF President, Fur Candidate

LD2210185789 Budapest MTI in English
1620 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—During the three-day 2nd national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) Saturday evening, Jozsef Antall was elected MDF president and Lajos Fur presidential candidate of the organization, by a ratio of 564 to 10 and 527 to 43 votes, respectively.

MDF's amended statutes, adopted at the closing day of the national meeting, are far-reachingly adjusted to the stipulations of the law on association and the party law. Accordingly, MDF is a social organization operating along party lines.

In a major amendment, MDF's management board, in charge of defining the organization's political strategy between two national meetings and controlling the activity of the presidium, has been completed by 20 persons. Important, from March 12, 1991 onwards the management board will be directly elected by the membership, instead of the national meeting. Two members will be delegated to the board by every county and one member each by the Budapest districts and the county-level towns.

The proposal that the newly elected president of MDF be assisted in his work by three vice-presidents to be elected by the presidium from its own ranks was also adopted.

After the voting result was announced, Lajos Fur spoke to domestic and foreign journalists.

Answering questions, he said there was presumably no great difference between how Imre Pozsgay and he viewed the peaceful transition and the ways and means of its realization. The parliamentary elections should be organized as soon as possible so that the country has a legitimate parliament and government, and the municipal elections take place as early as next year in the interest of the legitimacy of self-administrations. Should he be elected president of the republic, he would invariably espouse the programme of the Hungarian Democratic Forum which in his view serves the interests of the entire country.

Replying to another question, Mr Fur pointed out that the set-up of the coalition government depends on the outcome of the elections. Should the Hungarian Socialist Party emerge as a major factor at the elections, there will be no impediment to its being a partner to the government. Asked whether he would accept the prime minister's post if Imre Pozsgay became president of the Republic, he said the question has to be decided by the electors and MDF's presidium.

On Sunday Erhard Busek, vice-president of the Austrian people's party and minister of science and research, greeted participants in MDF's national meeting. He stressed that as a representative of a neighbour country he welcomes the current developments in Hungary for they "enable us to come closer to each other and do more for our continent".

Mr Busek, who is president of the Austrian board of directors of the world expo, pointed out Austria was convinced that the common world expo may be a propelling force of the further improvement of the economic structure in this region.

Michael Goebel, delegate from GDR's new forum, conveyed the good wishes of the newly established organization to the conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. With reference to the recent exodus of refugees and the "critical" conditions that have come about in the German Democratic Republic, he expressed the view that emigration is the worst possible solution to be chosen in the present difficult situation. Today demonstrations are held in almost every town of the GDR, expressing the will of the population to stay in their country and work for reforms and a different future. The new forum strives for dialogue at all levels of society and wants to create circumstances in which citizens will not leave their homeland.

MTI Gives Antall Biography

LD2210190489 Budapest MTI in English
1750 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—Jozsef Antall was born in Budapest on April 8, 1932. His father was government commissioner for refugees during the

second World War, and then was appointed Smallholders' Party under-secretary of state for reconstruction and minister.

Mr Antall graduated as a historian from Budapest's Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences. At present he is general director of the Semmelweis medical history museum, library and archives. He holds membership or leading post in several international and domestic scientific societies, and has published more than 300 politico-historical studies.

In October 1956 he participated in the reorganization of the Independent Smallholders' Party. For his activity as chairman of the teachers' revolutionary committee of Eotvos grammar school, he was arrested and dismissed from his post.

Jozsef Antall is a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. He played a major part in the activity of the Opposition Roundtable and at the trilateral coordination talks.

MTI Gives Fur Biography

LD2210190689 Budapest MTI in English 1821 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—Lajos Fur, presidential candidate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, was born to a peasant family in Egyhazasradoc (Vas county) on December 21, 1930.

He took his degree in history at Kossuth Lajos University of Arts and Sciences. In 1956 he was secretary of the Hajdu-Bihar county revolutionary committee, after November 4 he was arrested and interned. He sought refugee in France for a short time. After returning home, he did manual work for years and then became primary school teacher. He could resume his scientific activity in 1964.

Lajos Fur is a noted agricultural historian and a doctor of historical sciences. At present he is assistant professor at the medieval and modern Hungarian history department of the philological faculty of Budapest's Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences.

Fur Interviewed on Candidacy

LD2210190889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] Lajos Fur, the presidential candidate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], is 59, an agricultural historian, was born in a peasant family and played an active role in the 1956 revolution.

He now teaches in the faculty of humanities of the Lorand Eotvos University. He also gives lectures and writes books. He is married with two children and lives in Budapest. Andras Domany talked to him:

[Begin recording] [Domany] Professor Lajos Fur was elected as a candidate for the post of the president of the Republic with an overwhelming majority. What is the characteristic program with which you would like to win the votes of the Hungarian electors? What is different from others?

[Fur] My program of the presidential nomination is more or less the same as the program of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. It has two very important supporting pillars which will also be the supporting pillars of my nomination program too. One is the establishment of democracy and [the other] is serving and facilitating the cause of preservation of Magyardom.

[Domany] These slogans and important topics will also crop up in the programs of other candidates.

[Fur] Yes, I do not believe that they would be present with the same emphasis though.

[Domany] Thus, the proportions are different.

[Fur] Yes, the proportions are indeed different by all means. The organic relation between the two is also uniquely characteristic because so far the democracy, as a question of vital importance and the cause of preservation of Magyarhood, was not linked together the same way. I feel believe, however, these questions are very closely linked in Hungary today.

[Domany] Yesterday someone said to us that the MDF is not an ideological party. You personally have said, however, that you stand on a Christian basis, so to speak. Is there not some sort of contradiction, or are you not afraid that the nonreligious citizens of significant number would be frightened away by this?

[Fur] I have emphasized other important matters as well; this was only one among them. My personal political thinking could be placed somewhere in the political thinking category which is and was significantly influenced by the European Christianity, the Christian culture, and the ethical norms of Christianity. On the other hand another significant political trend is also represented at least in the same degree, which are called the traditions of the popular plebeian thinking. What is more, even if this seems surprising that I am able to coordinate so many things, I greatly appreciate the Hungarian national liberal movements of the past century and the national liberal political thinking started by Kossuth, Szechenyi, and Deak, which the Hungarian Democratic Forum also tries to combine and to amalgamate within its own framework.

[Domany] You have won the full support of an organization of some 20,000 people. However, there are several million voting citizens and it has come up, that you, as a historian are well known within professional circles but not so much for the wider public opinion. There is not much time left. How do you want to make yourself and your program known to public opinion?

[Fur] Most of all, I trust in your attentiveness. Besides this we want to carry out this election campaign with the traditional, customary methods: with lectures, programs,

pamphlets, and posters. This organization is going to have its own press from now on. If the means of the mass media will not help in this, all this will not be enough, by any means. [end recording]

Antall Briefs Press on Policy

LD2210190989 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic forum has no wish to form a bipartisan government with the Hungarian Socialist Party as it believes purposeful to set up a coalition resting on broad foundations after the elections, Jozsef Antall told an international press conference in Budapest on Sunday after MDF's national meeting.

MDF operates as an opposition political organization with the aim of promoting the democratization process in Hungary, Mr Antall said. He drew attention to the importance of stability for the country as an indispensable means to avoid economic bankruptcy and carry on the democratization process. For this reason, democratic transformation and stability are a common concern for the government and the opposition.

The rumour that Jozsef Antall aspires for the prime minister's post as MDF's candidate came up more than once during the press briefing. Mr Antall said that the idea was raised at the opposition roundtable talks: MDF has passed no such decision and he received no promise for the post.

Answering a question, Mr Antall stressed there was no denying that the reform communists and socialists had contributed a great deal to dismantling the party state in Hungary. Imre Pozsgay played an outstanding role in this respect. Mr Antall called attention to the need for considering each other fair political rivals and creating political circumstances in which the political opponents cannot insult each other without consequences.

Forum Updates Economic Policy

LD2310172889 Budapest MTI in English 1601 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 23, 1989 (MTIECONEWS)—The most influential Hungarian opposition movement, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), meeting for its second national assembly last weekend, concluded that an economic policy that boosts supply and encourages competition is the most likely way out of the country's current economic crisis.

The updated economic programme of the MDF urges the development of a market economy which is sensitive to social welfare and environmental problems. It proposes to manage the Hungarian economic crisis in two stages.

The first stage, which they term 'rubble clearance', concentrates on keeping the country solvent, while the second will lay the foundations of a welfare state.

Forty years of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of farming have sapped national resources and these need to be replenished, the MDF says. Priority is to be given to people, by developing education, health, culture, scientific research, technology and the environment.

The MDF sees as intolerable the Hungarian economy's long-standing inefficiency. Large loss-making plants built in the 1950s cannot be allowed to continue to be a drain on the country's resources. Subsidies to such firms eat up a third of the national budget and it is these, rather than welfare costs, which are adding to the national debt.

The economy as a whole needs lower taxes and interest rates, the forum says, rather than a continuation of the government's present policy of using high interest rates and the limits on bank loans as a means to cut the budget deficit. Such measures, in the MDF's view, only affect individuals since half of the Hungary's industry does not use such loans, and state monopolies are as good as indifferent to interest rates. The movement is therefore to push for stricter terms for state subsidies and an easing of restrictions on private business loans.

The MDF's has a total membership of 20,154 from 327 local organisations in 306 districts around Hungary.

Pozsgay Views Nation's Pluralistic Future

PM1810094289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 12 Oct 89 p 12

[Unattributed interview with Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay in Budapest on 11 October]

[Text] Budapest—"Dubcek in Hungary? I hope he will come; if and when he can come I will be very pleased to receive him. He realized 21 years ago, as we have now, that here in the other Europe it is not reform but the rejection of reform that is the greatest danger; that in countries where all reform is rejected by force, beneath the glacier of stability there lurk crises, stirrings, and revolts hazardous to this part of the world and to the whole of Europe."

This was said by Imre Pozsgay, the regime's second-in-command, favorite in the 25 November presidential election, and standard bearer and major strategist of the reformist wing that emerged victorious from the Hungarian communist party congress that marked the self-proclaimed death of communism and the birth of a socialist party prepared to lose after 40 years of totalitarian power. In his somber office in the parliament building he talked to us yesterday morning about the democratic swing that is bringing Hungary back into Europe. We had half-an-hour's conversation before his daily live television debate with the opposition: a regular challenge for the man who—together with that grand old man, Nyers—emerged victorious from the congress. Here is the interview:

[Journalist] Dr Pozsgay, you and your new party are hoping for relations with the European Left, but the

European Left has form some time had relations with the opposition forces within the Soviet bloc. Will you follow this example?

[Pozsgay] We will examine each case individually. As far as Solidarity is concerned, there is no problem, because they are now in government in Poland and we have, and want to have, excellent relations with the Polish Government. We will examine individual cases in the other countries.

[Journalist] What is the status of your relations with Charter 77 and the other human rights activists in Czechoslovakia, and especially with the new parties emerging in the GDR following the people's revolt against the Wall?

[Pozsgay] This is certainly no problem for us: We will consider relations with the various parties and movements, paying attention only to the substance of what these movements and parties represent. This criterion alone will govern the Hungarian Socialist Party's relations with those movements. One thing is certain: The Hungarian Socialist Party will create no obstacles or difficulties to and will never oppose the search by any movement of any socialist country for its own interlocutor or counterpart in other countries. It could even happen that we, as the Hungarian Socialist Party, will engage in regular relations with those movements in the name of glasnost, and glasnost does not necessarily mean sharing principles and ideas.

[Journalist] So could Hungary's radical reform threaten the stability of the Warsaw Pact and of the Soviet system of alliances?

[Pozsgay] I do not believe so. Europe will have everything to gain from a peaceful evolution in Hungary. The danger to be averted—and we are all aware of this—is a civil war, but precisely thanks to the new reform course we have a chance of averting this threat. The priority for all us Europeans is precisely to avert a civil war here. But if we are talking about stability, it is not in Hungary that I see the greatest threat to European stability but in the countries where the stability that currently reigns is only apparent.

[Journalist] Are you talking about the GDR and Czechoslovakia?

[Pozsgay] In general, I have in mind the countries which, behind a front of extreme stability, are accumulating such great tensions that they presage an explosion, a general crisis. If you look at everything happening in Europe at the moment you will realize that the lack of reforms is more dangerous to the old continent than the boldest attempts to reform this system of ours.

[Journalist] Are you perhaps referring to the GDR, where 20 Soviet divisions are stationed? How imminent is a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, where the course of political events is very different?

[Pozsgay] It will be the result of international agreements. As a sovereign state, we will not be the first to decide to request this unilateral reduction of forces in the balance between the two blocs until similar initiatives are forthcoming from NATO. Be that as it may, in our opinion and in that of the USSR Hungary's internal situation provides no reason for the continued presence of Soviet troops on our territory, nor does the international context seem to necessitate their presence.

[Journalist] Is a neutral Hungary possible?

[Pozsgay] I repeat: There are no internal or external reasons for the Soviet troops to remain in Hungary. It will all depend on East-West disarmament accords and negotiations. The Soviet troops are not here for the sake of Hungary's internal stability, nor do the Soviets need a strong military presence here. It will all depend on the balance of forces between the two blocs.

[Journalist] I repeat: What about neutrality?

[Pozsgay] There is a major possibility of Hungary's becoming neutral if the two blocs reduce their forces. We will not take the initiative first because, even while remaining within the Warsaw Pact, we have been able to pursue an independent foreign policy: to establish relations with South Korea, to resume them with Israel, to decide entirely autonomously—and, I believe, with complete respect for international ethics—to open our borders to everyone, including refugees from East Germany. In other words, the alliance does not restrict our freedom of choice.

[Journalist] Will Hungarian neutrality be made possible by a reunification of Germany and thus the disappearance of the GDR?

[Pozsgay] No, it depends, rather, on the military blocs and their future. By the time Germany is reunited, with the consensus of the whole of Europe, Hungary will long ago have reached and transcended its goals and problems.

[Journalist] Let us move on to Hungary's domestic problems: When Kadar was still in power you used to say that if the conservatives prevailed you would found a second left-wing party, which was your dearest wish. What is your dearest wish now?

[Pozsgay] My dearest wish has been satisfied: The Hungarian Socialist Party was a hope that I had nurtured in my heart for some time. The Movement for a Democratic Hungary (the organization conducting Pozsgay's presidential campaign—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) could perhaps be a reference point for the masses. I am satisfied with the agreement reached at the congress.

[Journalist] But you risk losing the presidential election, especially if Otto of Hapsburg stands as a candidate. Will your defeat in the presidentials or your party's defeat in the general elections not be a definitive one?

[Pozsgay] In the new political system everything is possible—including losing. The risk must be accepted. I

look at the future and the risk with confidence, and if I am not elected president, in the new democratic dialectic I will find a place in the new party. I do not want to leave politics just because of a defeat: Losing is normal in a democracy.

[Journalist] But is it not easier to lose when the conservatives are still in the new party?

[Pozsgay] It is possible that they will try to act behind the scenes and to sabotage the new course. Everything is possible in the new climate of openness: Imagine if the party secret affairs section still existed in this climate of freedom, all the horizontal attacks, all the controversies...

[Journalist] Yes, but Hungary's orthodoxes, backed by their Czechoslovak and East German friends, are drawing up false evidence against you...

[Pozsgay] It is always easy to attack a left-wing leader's past and to pretend to forget the general context in which you went along with errors or worse. Having said that, everyone should pay attention to their past. As for the orthodoxes, perhaps they will act in secret; I hope that they will go, that they will have the courage to leave this new party with which they no longer identify. The new scenario in the pluralistic Hungary also needs an thoroughgoing left-wing party; then it will be up to the voters to examine us politicians, all of us. [Pozsgay ends]

Pozsgay took his leave with a smile. It was still early morning but already time for his second appointment: his daily television debate with opposition leaders. Pozsgay set back on his desk the book that reproduces the front pages of the free newspapers of those memorable 17 days of revolution in 1956 and a volume of poems illustrated with a photograph: Attila Jozef, the foremost Hungarian poet of the century, next to Thomas Mann, already in exile in Budapest in 1937. "To save the country and the party," Pozsgay said, leafing through his beloved books and Duverger's "History of Political Parties," "we must not adhere to the futile dogmas of the primacy of the working class. We have had enough of the grand illusion of the party's leading role: Only by risking losing in a free interplay with others can we become an honest and genuine party. The European values of democracy, private ownership, and capital guaranteed [sentence as published]. In other words, human rights are our priority. Let us return to our centuries-old friendship with the peoples that flank the Danube, and if the Europe of the Twelve accepts us we will be ready for it."

TRYBUNA LUDU on GDR Leadership Changes

AU2410092189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 89 p 6

[Jerzy Weber commentary: "The GDR on the Road of Transformations"]

[Text] The changes in the ranks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership were to be expected. The economic and social policies that were initiated by Erich Honecker at the beginning of the 1970's only brought limited results. Compared to the other socialist countries, the GDR began to realign its economy toward intensive development at a very early stage, accompanied by a determined implementation of a broad program of state social welfare, which guaranteed its people relative well-being and the feeling of complete social security. The "Honecker Era" will no doubt also be remembered as a period of strengthening the GDR's international position in Europe. It was during these years that the GDR became internationally recognized. The GDR became an important and active partner of the European countries striving for arms reductions and the broadening of a lasting infrastructure of peace on our continent.

For some time, however, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the process of transformations which had been initiated by Honecker when he took over the post of first secretary of the SED Central Committee now needed new impulses that would assimilate the changes that were happening in the world of the 1980's, as well as the new economic and political phenomena that have appeared in socialist countries. The escapes and the large-scale protests of its people in the last few months have given a particular drama to this new challenge. The wave of the critical discussions that flowed back and forth during these critical days throughout GDR society proved that the changes expected are far greater than the changes that have been made hitherto under the traditional slogan "continuation and renewal."

The departure of the activists who have hitherto been responsible for propaganda and the economy from the Central Committee of the SED signifies that the party is opening up to new ideas in these spheres; ideas that over the last few months were most virulently criticized.

The program scenario of the successive, 12th SED Congress, due to take place in May 1990, and which was published over 6 months ago, will now have to be modified to incorporate substantive changes.

Egon Krenz, who is taking over the highest offices in the state and the party, has for years been regarded as a potential successor to Erich Honecker. At the suggestion of the outgoing secretary general, Egon Krenz was elected to this post. The expectations in society and the party that have been aroused as a result of this personnel change are great. The upcoming SED Central Committee Plenum in November will bring the first decisions. On this occasion let us recall that Egon Krenz has visited Poland several times. In Poland we are familiar with and respect his determined stance on the matter of the inviolability of the Odra-Nysa border, and his long-term personal involvement in the development of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and states.

Friendship Club Approves of GDR Changes

LD2010164789 Warsaw PAP in English 0102 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—GDR's Ambassador to Poland Juergen Van Zwoll attended today a meeting of the Presidium of the All-Poland Club of Friendship between Poland and GDR, set up on the initiative of the "Wisla-Odra" Association.

The meeting voiced an approval for the recent changes in the GDR and stated that that process would serve well the cause of strengthening cooperation and friendship between Poland and the GDR.

The Presidium suggested that an international foundation for protection of the common cultural and civilizational heritage should be set up in Poland, and extended to the GDR ambassador an invitation for GDR's social organizations to take part in it.

The meeting said that the club was ready to help create organizational conditions for cultural and social activity of people of German descent in Poland.

Czechoslovak Border Procedures Protested

LD1910224589 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—The Social Committee of Human Rights in Poland has addressed a letter to the Czechoslovak Embassy stating that the Polish public opinion has been for some time now deeply concerned with numerous reports of obstacles being created for Polish citizens specifically on border crossings between Czechoslovakia and countries neighbouring on it.

The procedure and forms of border checks applied by Czechoslovak border authorities with regard to Polish citizens have traits of both debasing human dignity as well as discrimination of people crossing borders solely owing to their Polish citizenship.

In connection with this, the Social Committee of Human Rights in Poland expresses regret and feels compelled to file a categorical protest in connection with stated facts of breach of human rights.

Sejm Committees Debate Abolishing ORMO

LD2010005489 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—At today's joint session the Sejm committees for administration and internal affairs and for legislative procedure heard the first reading of

the deputies' bill on abrogation of the law on the voluntary reserve of the Civil Militia (ORMO) of June 13, 1967.

Not only the costs of maintaining the organization speak in favour of its liquidation, Deputy Kopczynski stated. The draft law on the ORMO results from transforming a totalitarian state into a democratic one. Whereas the ORMO, a political organization subordinated to the Interior Ministry, is the manifestation of state totalitarianism. In conclusion Kopczynski said that professionals and not amateurs should deal with peace and order in the state.

Interior Vice-Minister Zbigniew Pudysz argued with the deputy's many statements but he made it clear that he did not intend to defend the law on the ORMO in its to-date shape but to generally change it.

The liquidation of the ORMO would negatively influence the state of peace and order in the country and require an increase in the militia's manpower by a dozen or so thousand full-time employees, which is not feasible in the current situation, Pudysz argued.

The committees accepted the bill with 30 votes for, 3 votes against and 2 abstentions.

Public Opinion Favors Sejm, Senate, Leaders

LD2010181289 Warsaw PAP in English
1411 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20— A considerable growth of social approval for Sejm's and Senate's work is accompanied by the increasing number of good opinions about the speakers of both chambers of the Polish parliament, say the authors of a poll carried out by the CBOS Public Opinion Research Centre.

In the positive grades Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski were outpaced only by Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp—91.8 per cent, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki—89.4 per cent and chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" Lech Walesa—87.2 per cent.

The positive opinions about the Sejm speaker were given by 59.4 percent of those asked and on the Senate speaker—by 48.3 per cent. The negative attitude towards both speakers was expressed by some 6 per cent of respondents.

Next Sejm Meeting To Be Held 30 Oct

LD2010201989 Warsaw PAP in English
1648 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Concluding today's meeting of the Sejm (lower house), the chamber decided to hold its next meeting on October 30 which is to be devoted, among other things, to the amendments to the 1989 budget law.

Sejm Corrects 'Mistakes' in Amended Indexation Law

LD2010201489 Warsaw PAP in English
1856 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—During today's plenary meeting of the Sejm (lower house), the chamber removed two mistakes included in the adopted on October 16 amendment to the Law on Indexation.

Both mistakes were connected with the sum of wages of which exceeding brings about tax sanction in respect to work places. They do not refer to the amount and form of payments of indexation raises to which employees are entitled. 245 deputies voted in favour of including the amendment eliminating the mistakes, one voted against and 30 deputies abstained from voting.

Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Fiszbach informed deputies that the Sejm received a government draft law on another amendment to this year's budget law. In light of this, the amendment should be approved and be enforced as of November 1. Fiszbach, on behalf of the Presidium of the Sejm, appealed to deputies to express their consent for the first reading of the draft in Sejm committees.

Several deputies questioned such solution stating that it stands in contradiction to Sejm's rules. Discussion which included arguments for and against such motion and proposals of a compromise settlement, for example to call an earlier additional meeting of the chamber, was interrupted by an announcement that the Convent of Seniors will hold a meeting during the break in the debates.

After the break, Fiszbach informed the chamber that the convent made efforts to meet half way intentions expressed by deputies during the discussion. The convent stressed with concern that the Sejm is pressed to carry out its legislative work in excessive haste and turns the government's attention to the need to observe the adopted timetable of this work. However, at the same time the convent decided to present to the chamber a draft resolution in which the Sejm would decide to direct, as an exception, the draft law to Sejm committees for the first reading.

Further exchange of arguments for and against the motion ended in a vote in which the chamber decided to approve convent's proposal and to call the next meeting of the Sejm for October 30.

Medicine Price Rise Scheduled for 23 Oct

LD2210013589 Warsaw PAP in English
2108 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Official prices of Polish-made medicines will go up as of Oct 23. The rises are necessary to ensure the profitability of production and will mainly concern the medicines which contain spirit, sugar, and herbs.

'Fear, Despair' in Army Barracks Viewed

AU1910203389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13-15 Oct 89 p 5

[Piotr Niemczyk article: "To Get Away at All Cost"]

[Text] The latest example of self-mutilation I know of occurred on 12 August 1989. A private in an Army unit stationed in Powidz (Greater Poland) deliberately shot himself while on sentry duty. He survived. The bullet passed through the lungs, the stomach, and the spleen. Everyone who has served in the Armed Forces is familiar with several such cases of attempted suicide. According to the people who in the autumn of this conscript year went from active service to the reserves, there is still no sign of General Siwicki's promised humanization of Army conditions. It is still easier to find despair than hope in Army barracks.

"Acting with the intention to avoid military service (...) he shot himself three times in his right foot thus suffering bullet wounds to the said foot which resulted in shattered navicular and ankle bones." The sentence is taken from the verdict of the subsequent inquest held by the Military Division of the Supreme Court. The sentry preferred to lose his limb rather than remain in the Army. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

The number of soldiers who mutilate themselves has not decreased over the last few years. That is one of the reasons why the courts treat such cases with extreme severity. The sentences handed down are usually for several years.

These details are kept secret. Nevertheless, Colonel Andrzej Kaminski mentions 124 instances of self-mutilation in WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD PRAWNICZY [MILITARY LEGAL REVIEW] No 4, 1984. He distinguishes between cases resulting in serious health disorders (22 instances), and cases of grave self-mutilation of the body (102 instances). Self-inflicted wounds in the shoulders, knees, and thighs have often led to permanent disability. Some 71 of the mentioned cases needed emergency hospitalization and intensive treatment lasting several months. Some 10 cases must really be considered attempted suicides. This group of cases includes shots to the thorax, severings of the carotid arteries, and attempts at self-poisoning using silver nitrate, or potassium nitrate.

Apart from the bullet wounds, one comes across other methods at self-mutilation that are typical of the methods used by prison inmates. According to a conscript who in the years 1985-86 was in a unit that tended to receive the so-called difficult cases from other units, one of the most popular methods was "swallowing." Spoons were the favorite implement. A case of "swallowing" used to occur at least once a week in this unit. The servicemen in this unit were regarded as "dangerous," and, not having access to firearms, had to fall back on other methods. Some attempted to poison themselves, some injected themselves with diesel fuel, saliva, or various kinds of medicines. There were cases of broken bones in the arms and legs; cases of severed fingers, and even feet. Fear, despair, and the impulse to escape from an insufferable situation, impelled them to try and get discharged from the Army in such a way as to never be able to return.

Military Aircraft Flight Limitations Imposed

LD2410084489 Warsaw PAP in English 0012 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—A number of limitations has been imposed on military air traffic over the Polish territory for security reasons and to reduce effects on natural environment.

Flights of planes and helicopters over towns with population above 25 thousand and over health and holiday resorts are allowed only at the height of minimum 2 thousand metres. If lower, the pilot must pass by such places at a distance of at least 1.5 km.

Supersonic aircraft which are most noisy at small altitudes are allowed only above 10 thousand metres and only during the day or in the evening. No shooting or shelling will be permitted on Air Force testing grounds during the night. The explosive power of exercise missiles has been reduced.

Janicki Reaffirms Need To Support Farming

LD2010221189 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20—In an interview for PAP, Vice-Premier Czeslaw Janicki, who is also the minister of agriculture, forestry and food economy, stated that Poland has necessary natural conditions to produce more food than she does now.

"Poland is among the very few countries in Europe which have some 0.5 hectare of arable land per capita. Agriculture is among those branches of economy which are least prone to decapitalization of assets. The chief factor of agricultural production is land which can give fast growth in crops provided that farming is supplied with more fertilizers, machinery and other industrial products. That is why I represent the view that staking on farming will also help us overcome the crisis.

"One should also remember that all the major economic crises and social upheavals in Poland were the results of food shortages," Janicki went on.

Asked how he planned to implement his ideas, the vice-premier stated: "We will offer identical conditions to all sectors of ownership in farming. We will also provide agriculture with more production means to improve the productivity of farms. However, it is not possible to achieve this on our own. My big hope is that foreign capital will invest in Poland. What we need are small enterprises manufacturing plant protection agents, tools, fodder additives, and even tractors."

Supplies from industries producing goods for farming must be encouraged by appropriate tax rebates," the vice-premier went on. "I have received assurances that the industries will be given preferential treatment. In addition, we have at our disposal the funds from sale of food received from Western donators as gifts. We plan to spend these funds on developing production in small factories for the needs of farming. We also count on joint ventures with foreign companies which could find partners in Polish workshops and factories servicing agricultural machinery in the countryside."

Speaking of the current problems in farming production, the minister announced that a grain loan will be launched by the government to encourage farmers to sell grain to the state. The crop has been better than last year, but farmers are delaying sales because of inflation. "We will propose that farmers who wish to do so can give the state aid in the form of a grain loan. They would deliver grain now and receive payment next year, at prices then prevailing in the market. Such a solution would give shield from inflation to the farmers and would help the state by cutting necessary imports of grain."

The minister said there will be further increases in retail prices for food, but not as radical as those of the past weeks. "The transition to market mechanisms in the food market unfortunately started from retail food prices, and it is only now that we are introducing economically sound prices for tractors and farming machinery and other means of agricultural production. As any Pole, I regret that prices are going up, but we have to go through the process of making them realistic. Any retreat on that road would mean going back to the situation which was at the root of problems that we now face," Janicki said.

Jaruzelski, Kiszczak, Siwicki Attend Funeral

LD2110041989 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Thousands of people took part here today in the funeral of Marshal of Poland Michal Zymierski. Zymierski was an outstanding Pole, ardent patriot, fighter for independence, hero of struggle for national and social liberation, outstanding commander, and co-architect of the reborn Polish Army.

The last honour to the deceased was paid by President General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Vice-Premier General Czeslaw Kiszczak, National Defence Minister General Florian Siwicki, and Vice-Ministers of Defence Generals Antoni Jasinski and Jozef Uzycki who stood on guard at the coffin.

The funeral ceremony was attended, apart from the marshal's relatives, by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Florian Siwicki, members of the state authorities and PUWP [People's United Workers' Party] leaders, senior officials of the National Defence Ministry, and war veterans' organisations.

Polish Peasant Party Solidarity Forming

LD1810231189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] The Solidarity Interim National Council of Private Farmers today supports in their resolution the appeal by Jozef Slisz concerning the organization in the cities and in the countryside of the Polish Peasant Party Solidarity. The council requests all union members to support measures aimed at the organization of Polish Peasant Party Solidarity. We appeal to town and village residents, to everyone who understands that the village is not only a professional group, to join in the organizational work. At present at the moment when there is a return to the idea of small farms and enterprises of the enormous sovereignty of the individual against economic and political monopolies, of the fight for a clean environment, Polish Peasant Party Solidarity ought to find support not only in the countryside.

[Begin Slisz recording] I would like to complete that information. I wish to emphasize once again that Polish Peasant Party Solidarity is not exclusively a peasant party. It is being created on a peasant base, but it ought, however, to be a national party. Its creation has been caused by the needs of the moment. It is a question of support for reforms and constitutional changes. Let us remember that peasants are most weakly connected with the socialist economy, and that is why they can play an enormous role as an agent of change. However, the creation of Polish Peasant Party Solidarity as a national party of an outlook of a longer range has an enormous significance. It is a question of a certain model of life, which is different from that of a large town one, a large industrial one. We are concerned with building family values, social links. It is a question of a break with the mania for the gigantic, or building a world of a human dimension. In the 1940s the Polish Peasant Party Solidarity fought for a free Poland, in the 1980s that fight was taken up by Solidarity. The members are still alive and we invite tham all, if they so wish, to build together with us, with people from Solidarity, our joint Polish Peasant-Solidarity party. Thank You [end recording]

PPSD, OPZZ Discuss Workers' Needs, Reforms

LD2010095289 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—The leadership of the Polish Social Democratic Party [PPSD] and the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance held a meeting at the OPZZ headquarters today, the OPZZ press bureau has announced.

The sides discussed the key problems of the Polish working people against the backdrop of the current socio-political situation of the country, agreeing on the need to oppose the sell-out of national assets and endorsing the need to socialize state property, among others in the form of employees shares. The OPZZ and PPSD agree that Poland needs reforms but that they

cannot be introduced solely at the expense of employees of the state-run sector. The meeting was attended by representatives of the organizational committee of the working people movement.

Reader Asks for Trade Union in Interior Ministry

AU2010152989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 4

[Letter to TRYBUNA LUDU from Jan Jablonski, TRYBUNA LUDU reader and member of the former All-Polish Founding Committee of the Trade Union of Civic Militia Officers: "Unions in the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] In connection with Polish society's negative attitude toward the militia, the staff difficulties experienced by the Interior Ministry, and the increase in crime, I would like to suggest that talks ought to take place on the subject of the shape of the Interior Ministry's activity, and on the subject of a trade union of employees in this ministry.

I realize that this is difficult, and that it will take time and will require mutual confidence and a suppression of the desire to wreak vengeance for the wrongs of the past. What is past should stay in the past, and the conditions for creating a trade union of Interior Ministry employees should be created. Talks between representatives of individual Interior Ministry units should be conducted on the basis of mutual understanding and partnership, and not from a position of strength, as was the case in the past. In 1981, there was an attempt to form a trade union of Civic Militia officers in the Civic Militia First Aid Battalion in Warsaw. General Beim, who was present at that meeting, asked those present for a break of 3 days, in order to hold consultations on the subject and adopt a stance. After the participants had dispersed to their homes, a state of alert was declared in militia units, meaning that it was forbidden to leave one's home, and communications were cut in an effort to make these consultations difficult. We all know what the end result of these talks was. But that was 1981. Today we are in 1989, and we have a premier elected by the will of the people.

I appeal to Premier Mazowiecki, Minister Kiszczak, Chairman Walesa, and representatives of other social groups to prove equal to the present task, just as they proved equal to the task of bringing the "roundtable" talks to a successful conclusion. This time, too, please see to it that the Interior Ministry becomes an office that is needed and generally respected in the eyes of society. In this way, mutual resentment and slander will end.

Only together can we overcome all prejudices. The day should dawn when the Interior Ministry becomes a ministry that is needed, accepted, and respected by Polish society. Then, Minister Kiszczak, you will have no staff problems, and none of the present unnecessary difficulties. I completely support your plans. They will be even more justified if first if all the ministry meets the needs of its own employees and society halfway. A newly emerged trade union of Interior Ministry employees will find it easier to come to terms with society and explain the interests of its employees than the ministry's authorities have been able to do.

The sooner this happens, the better for us and the whole of Poland. The militia will be able to rely on society, and society will be able to trust the militia.

Please could you express your support for my initiative, whatever party or organization you belong to. After all, we only have one Poland. We all need unity, mutual understanding, and cooperation. Where two people fight, a third person profits by it.

Jan Jablonski, member of the former All-Polish Founding Committee of the Trade Union of Civic Militia Officers.

Grand National Assembly To Convene 27 Oct

AU2010202689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1989—By decree of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the tenth session of the Ninth Grand National Assembly [GNA] (the parliament) is convened on October 27, 1989, 1000 hours.

Legislative Chamber Convened for 26 Oct

AU2010202989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1989—By presidential decree signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils is convened on October 26, 1989.

Ceausescu Emphasizes Exports at PEC Meeting

AU1310163889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1025 GMT 13 Oct 89

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/10/1989—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian Communist Party [RCP] general secretary, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP met Thursday 12 October.

The Executive Political Committee considered a report on the fulfillment of the plan of industrial production, export and investment for the first ten days of October and the steps for the implementation of all the provisions of the plan for October and the fourth quarter of this year.

The data brought forward show that overall, a number of good results were scored in comparison with the same period last year. And yet, there were fields and sectors where the achievements were below the level of the plan.

Starting from this situation, the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu asked the government, the ministries, central industrial departments and enterprises to take firm action for a thorough organization of production and work, so as to recoup the arrears and fulfill well all the provisions of the plan, of the production for export more particularly.

Showing that all the conditions are in place for far bigger growths in all the fields of industry, the party general secretary urged that each enterprise, branch and ministry should follow the implementation of the plan on a day-by-day basis, promptly solve all the problems on which the manufacture of the planned production depends.

Firm measures must be taken to implement the programmes of improving production organization and modernization, on the basis of the latest advances in science and technology, raising product quality, cutting back on raw and subsidiary and energy consumption and strictly respect the norms in force, increasing productivity, economic efficiency and profitability.

The fulfillment of the export programmes should be in the focus, said Nicolae Ceausescu. In connection with that it was stressed once again that export tasks are considered fulfilled only when the production concerned is cleared through the customs and delivered to customers. In context, special emphasis was laid on the fact that along with the timely delivery of a quality production as stipulated by contracts, firm steps should be taken to clear through the customs and liquidate the production for export in stock. This, underscored the party general secretary, should be the No. 1 problem of all ministries, central industrial departments and enterprises, of all counties. Action should be taken so that stocks be liquidated and the plan for export be fulfilled until the 14th party congress.

Nicolae Ceausescu urged that all these problems related to the implementation of the production plan especially of export be discussed in detail by party meetings and conferences, as well as by general meetings of working people, by all organisms of our revolutionary worker democracy, and measures be taken to fulfill all the provisions of the plan until the party congress, to put an end to stocks and unprofitable products.

Passing to the next item on the agenda, the Executive Political Committee decided to call the plenum of the party's Central Committee on 25 and 26 October.

Next, Nicolae Ceausescu informed the audience of his participation in the Berlin celebrations that marked the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, of the meetings and talks he had on the occasion.

The party general secretary and the Executive Political Committee were highly appreciative of the way in which the celebrations that marked forty years since the foundation of the German Democratic Republic proceeded, of the great achievements scored by the people of the GDR, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), in socialist construction, in the economic and social development of the country, of its firm policy in the fight for the development of the cooperation of socialist countries, for disarmament, progress, and peace in the world. Appreciation was voiced of the principled, clear stand of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in defence of socialism and its development against the revanchist policy of the reactionary circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, against any interference in the internal affairs of states.

The Executive Political Committee stressed that President Nicolae Ceausescu's participation in the festivities marking forty years since the creation of the German Democratic Republic, his Berlin meeting and talks with

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, highlighted the relations of lasting friendship and multilateral cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples.

The fact was emphasized that the two party and state leaders expressed—on that occasion too—the joint wish to raise the links of cooperation between the RCP and the SUPG, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic onto a higher level in the political, economic, technical, scientific and other areas, so that they assert themselves ever more strongly as an example of productive cooperation between socialist countries engaged with all their forces in the building of the new system.

Reiterating the stand of the Romanian party and state the Executive Political Committee firmly condemned the hostile manifestations and the interference of reactionary circles in the FRG in the domestic affairs of the German Democratic Republic which fully disagree with the Helsinki documents, the norms of international law and the provisions of the UN Charter. Such manifestations which are a reminder of the cold war period, can in no way serve the development of cooperation between the two German states, in Europe and the world over.

The Executive Political Committee expressed the full solidarity of the Romanian party and people with the party and people of the German Democratic Republic, in the fight for socialism, for peace, understanding and broad international cooperation.

The Executive Political Committee also underscored the particular importance of the meetings and talks Nicolae Ceausescu had in Berlin with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. During those meetings, the joint determination was expressed to impart ever broader dimensions and an ever richer content to the bilateral relations of close friendship and cooperation, in the spirit and on the basis of the understandings covenanted at top level, in the mutual interest, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, cooperation and peace.

The Executive Political Committee was also appreciative of the fruitful character of the talks Nicolae Ceausescu had in Berlin with 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, which highlighted the possibilities of developing the relations between the two parties, between Romania and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in the economic, technical and scientific domains, on stable and long-term bases.

The Executive Political Committee emphasized the profound significance of the exchange of opinions Nicolae Ceausescu had with the party and state leaders of those countries on current aspects of the world political life, of the international communist and worker movement. Stress was laid on the great importance of the conclusion reached jointly during the talks on the need to strengthen the cooperation and solidarity of the socialist countries, of the communist and worker parties, of the revolutionary, progressive forces everywhere, of taking a firm stand of resolute rejection of the actions and attempts of imperialist circles to destabilize the situation in socialist countries and other states of the world, to undermine the achievements of socialism and socialism in general, to promote their policy of domination and oppression, of interference in the domestic affairs and violation of peoples' independence and sovereignty. It was stressed that, starting from this assessment, emphasis was placed on the importance of intensifying contacts and consultations among communist and worker parties of socialist countries, to the end of debating the problems of developing socialism in the current stage, of firmly applying the principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions in each county, of ensuring the peace, progress and independence of all peoples. Likewise, the determination of the Romanian party and state was reasserted to strengthen cooperation in the world arena, to make its active contribution to the unflinching implementation of the policy of disarmament and detente, of international peace and cooperation.

Approving the understandings and conclusions reached during those meetings, the Executive Political Committee urged that all measures be taken for the ever more sustained development of the friendly cooperation between Romania and the respective countries. The Executive Political Committee was informed about the visit paid to Romania, at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Executive Committee.

The Executive Political Committee stressed that the new top level dialogue went down, through its results, as an important moment in the development of the friendly and cooperative relations between Romania and the State of Palestine, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian People and the Palestinian people.

Particular emphasis was placed on the fact that, during the talks, the two leaders, surveying ways and modalities of solving the Middle East questions, jointly underscored that everything possible must be done for a comprehensive political, just and lasting solution to the situation in the region, for the organization, to this end, of an international conference under UN aegis, which should ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to the existence of its own independent state, as well as the security and independence of all the states in the region, the establishment of a durable and just peace in the Middle East. The need was stressed that

the Palestinian delegation to that conference be appointed by the PLO, by Palestinians themselves and nobody else. It was also underscored that the proposals advanced by Egypt's president, but also Israel's proposals on the organization of elections in the occupied territories could be taken as a basis for the settlement of the Middle East issues, as part of the general peace process in the area.

Approving the results of the visit, of the talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, the Executive Political Committee reiterated the determination of the Romanian party, state and people to further support the Palestinian people's fight for the attainment of its legitimate aspirations after living in peace, in a free and independent homeland, to further work for the constructive settlement of the Middle East problems, for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the area.

The Executive Political Committee was further informed about the visit of a Romanian Communist Party delegation to the People's Republic of China and to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Executive Political Committee was particularly appreciative of the stand of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Korean Workers' Party, of the People's Republic of China and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on questions of socialist construction, of defending and developing the principles of scientific socialism, as well as on current questions of the international life, of ensuring progress and peace in the world.

The Executive Political Committee expressed satisfaction at the continuous development of the relations of close friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the parties of the two countries, between the Romanian people and the Chinese and the Korean peoples, to which the top-level meetings, talks and understandings between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the party and state leaders of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, made a decisive contribution.

Taking the floor at the end of the meeting of the Executive Political Committee, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that we should further intensify our international activity, strengthen more our collaboration with both the socialist countries and the other states of the world.

We are firm on the positions of scientific, revolutionary socialism, the RCP general secretary said, for the safeguarding of socialism which is built in specific conditions in each country. We criticized "models" a long time ago and we removed them, which does not mean renouncing socialism; quite on the contrary, it means a firm application of socialist principles.

No socialist country has to copy capitalism now. First of all because they all had it and know what it means, we do not need unemployed and poor people because this is not how we can join the civilized countries. It is not with unemployed and poor people that an advance to civilization can be achieved. Technical progress cannot be made by splitting up large socialist enterprises in hundreds of thousands of small units. That division would take the respective countries hundreds of years back. Technical progress is made with the help of the large industry. The fact is known that the large industry provided for the appropriate application of the organization of production and work, of science. Socialism should remove the capitalist property, the capitalist-type distribution and inequalities in society, it should not destroy the large industry. On the contrary, it should consolidate and develop it.

That is why we must firmly take and we take the line towards the development of socialism, the implementation of our programmes, as well as the strengthening of international solidarity and collaboration. We must take active part in the strengthening of collaboration and solidarity which should be one of the permanent concerns in our activity.

We must be firm against any interference of the imperialist circles in the socialist or other countries, against their interference in the developing countries, against their actions against the revolutionary movement. As a matter of fact, by working in this way, we will put the best conditions in place for a continuous expansion of our international relations and exchanges.

Naturally, we wish to develop relations with all the countries, with the capitalist countries too, on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. As a matter of fact we consider that our firm position in defence of socialism does not mean a renunciation of the policy of broad international collaboration; on the contrary it should intensify that collaboration, rejecting any conditions, capitulations or concessions that are detrimental to socialism, to the country's independence and sovereignty.

These are some of the conclusions drawn from all the meetings and talks I had with other delegates in Berlin and with various personalities who visited our country.

I think that all these must be understood well—and everybody in his province, in his work must firmly and actively promote our policy and principles in all fields.

During the meeting the Executive Political Committee also solved a number of problems of party and state activity.

People Over 60 Receive No Medication

AU2310211289 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21-22 Oct 89 p 8

[EPD report: "Romania: No Medication for People Over 60"]

[Text] Bad Herrenalb—People over the age of 60 do not receive medication in Romania. As Synod Member Karl Ritsert stressed at the Evangelical Land Synod session in Bad Herrenalb, it is particularly sick and old people who are suffering in Romania. They receive about DM5 pension per month. Ritsert reported on the work of the synod committee "Aid to Victims of Violence." He said that this year victims of violence in Romania as well as in South Africa, El Salvador, Peru, and China have been supported with a total amount of DM50,000.

Paper Condemns Neocolonialism, Brain Drain

AU2010211389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1512 GMT 20 Oct 89

["The Abolition of Any Form of Domination and the Free Assertion of Each Nation—Targets of the Fight of Peoples Everywhere"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1989—The ensurance of the peoples' inalienable right to make their life in harmony with their own desideratum [as received] of independence, welfare and progress has been one of the basic elements of Romania's foreign policy, a commentary in "ROMANIA LIBERA" of 20 October points out, showing among other things: Romania has clearly expressed its full adhesion and active support to the fight of peoples everywhere for the abolition of any form of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the free assertion of each nation.

As President Nicolae Ceausescu has underlined more than once, the policy of retrieving the privileges lost by the former monopolies, of some countries' getting rich by exploiting others takes on numerous forms in various actions, from the direct ones like interference by armed force, destabilization of legal political regimes, financing and assistance to anti-government groupings to the indirect, subtle ones such as the hard currency-financial mechanism or foreign capital investments. Such actions intensified following the world economic crisis whose consequences have been felt since long, virulently affecting the Third World states in particular.

Firmly condemning the neocolonialist practices, Romania has expressed its determination to work for an end to such phenomena, for the ensurance of a political, economic and social climate in which each people can develop, also showing its confidence that, by working in close solidarity, the developing countries and their peoples can and must find the best ways to independence and real development.

A form of neocolonialism is the brain drain that has had serious consequences for the developing countries. Given the deeply harmful character of such a phenomenon, ten years ago Romania suggested the elaboration of a set of principles apt to stop the neocolonialist practices of recruiting personnel as a component of establishing a new international economic order.

In Romania's opinion, the access to the achievements of modern science and technology in keeping with the demands for each country's free development is another imperative of liquidating underdevelopment, a process which should involve all states, more particularly those which benefited by the current gaps, namely the rich, industrialized states.

It is Romania's firm conviction that, following the ever more active promotion of the neocolonialist policy, the perpetuation and accentuation of the practices of dictate and interference in the peoples' life, all the advanced social forces should take concerted action to exclude, as the theses for the 14th RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress underline, the plundering and domination of poor countries by the big imperialist banks and monopolies, to bring about positive changes in the course of events, for a constructive settlement of the major problems facing mankind today, for the building of a better and more just world, the commentary winds up.

PRC Leaders Thank Romanians for Message

AU2310123989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Oct 89 p 5

[Message of thanks from PRC leaders Jiang Zemin, Yang Shangkun, Wan Li, and Li Peng to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, for greetings on 40th anniversary of proclamation of PRC]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

We sincerely thank you, the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian people for the congratulatory telegram sent to us on the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC and for your words of praise about the Chinese people's achievements in the past 40 years.

We are convinced that, through joint efforts, the profound traditional friendship and the close relations of friendship and cooperation between the parties, countries, and peoples of China and Romania will surely register a further enhancement and development, to the benefit of socialist construction in our countries and the cause of peace in the world.

We wholeheartedly wish the friendly Romanian people new and ever greater successes in socialist construction, under the leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee,

Yang Shangkun, PRC president,

Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress,

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council

$1 Billion Loan Obtained for Nuclear Plant

AU1710203789 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 16 Oct 89 p 12

["kg" report: "Bucharest To Contract Foreign Loan for the Construction of the Cernavoda Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—Despite the assurance that his country will not take up any more credits, Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu has contracted a $1 billion loan through the Canadian Export Promotion Agency and a group of international banks. The money is designed to finance the supply of Canadian goods for the Cernavoda nuclear power plant, which is under construction.

According to findings of the Vienna Institute for International Economics Comparisons, published in its recent analysis, "Romania's investment policy and its importance for Western exporters of industrial plants," the new credit, which is probably an exception from the rule, reflects the regime's priorities and the structure of Romanian investment policy. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu Receives New Burkina Faso Envoy

AU1310170189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1354 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/10/1989—Thursday, October 12, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, received Ye Anitan Jonas, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Burkina Faso to Romania.

On handing over his credentials, on behalf of captain Blaise Compaore, president of the Popular Front, the head of state and government of Burkina Faso, Ambassador Ye Anitan Jonas conveyed a warm message and best wishes of good health and happiness to President Nicolae Ceausescu, of progress and prosperity to the Romanian people.

Expressed in the address presented by the ambassador is the resolve to work for strengthening and diversifying further the relations of collaboration between Burkina Faso and Romania.

On receiving the letters of credence, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed his salute and best wishes of good health and happiness to the head of state of Burkina Faso and peace and prosperity to the people of that country.

Stressed in President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech are the good relations of friendship and collaboration growing between Romania and Burkina Faso in the spirit of the accords and understandings agreed upon, based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage. Also highlighted are the multiple possibilities offered by the economies of the two countries for further expanding the bilateral relations in various domains of joint interest.

While working for its incessant progress along the path of peaceful construction, reads the address, Romania also promotes an active policy meant to strengthen peace, security and international collaboration, aiming at the free and independent development of all the nations in the world. Reasserted in the context is our country's support to the struggle fought by the African peoples for the total removal of colonialism and neocolonialism, to consolidate political and economic independence, to eradicate the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished success to the new ambassador of Burkina Faso in fulfilling the mission entrusted on him and assured him of full support on the part of the State Council, the government and himself.

Participating in the credential-presentation solemnity and the talks held on the occasion were Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and Dumitru Apostoiu, secretary to the president and the State Council.

BORBA Views Fall in Sino-Yugoslav Trade

AU1910211989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 89 p 9

[Aleksandar Popovic report: "How to Reach the 'Promised Market'"]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Oct—When Yugoslavia's business performance on the world market is discussed, the results that are achieved in trade with the PRC are an example that needs to be pondered. When we were among the first to institutionalize economic cooperation with China 20 years ago, many people thought that we would achieve noticeable successes in the market of this large country. These hopes were "nurtured" by the first business operations that were agreed upon and then the multiplication of these operations.

However, there were later changes that justifiably worried both sides, but the Yugoslav side even more because China was considered a priority country in the development of economic trade.

At the beginning of next week a session will held in Beijing of the Mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation at which the delegations will be headed by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, and Zou Jiahua, member of the State Council (government) and minister for machine building. Almost 5 years have passed since the previous, fourth, sitting held in 1984. During this time, meetings have been postponed several times (the last time at the height of the demonstrations in Beijing). Perhaps this very fact shows that the state of Yugoslav-Chinese economic trade is not what it should be and that for now at least, there is no hope that the necessary turn-around will soon take place.

Trade was begun in 1970 and at that time it amounted to $6.8 million in both directions. This was a small amount but considering that this was the beginning, it was thought that the scale of joint economic links would quickly be more considerably increased. This did happen and trade registered an increase from year to year, beginning with 1980 ($160.2 million). Then cyclical tendencies arose but the situation corrected itself with the beginning of a new long-term agreement: In the first 2 years of its implementation, 1986-1987, the record sum of $437.2 million was reached. Yugoslav exports were worth $242.2 million and Chinese exports $195 million. Otherwise, the value of trade registered in 1987 ($262 million) was the highest in the history of Yugoslav-Chinese economic relations.

At this time about 15 business branches were opened in Beijing because an even more significant increase in trade with China was expected. Since interest in this Far Eastern country grew in Yugoslavia, JAT [Yugoslav airlines] regular flights to Beijing and the Chinese airline began flights to Belgrade.

The most optimistic expectations went as far as to say that trade would amount to $2 billion in the period between 1986 and 1990. However, as changes took place on the Chinese domestic scene and in the Yugoslav context, there was a blockage and even reduction in joint trade links.

To Eliminate the Causes of the Blockage

This was already manifested last year when trade barely reached $175 million despite the undoubted support of most Yugoslav branches and the not inconsiderable help of the Yugoslav Embassy in Beijing which devoted much attention to economic business. However, difficulties in agreements over products became an everyday matter and the numerous interventions to ease the signing of agreements unfortunately did not always help.

Not only were predictions of $2 billion in this 5-year period not achieved but much smaller sums were also brought into question. This was particularly demonstrated this year when a further fall was recorded so that trade will barely reach $100 million. This is two and a half times less than the record figure for 1987.

It is often stressed with justification that the level of economic trade does not correspond to needs or mutual wishes. This also relates to industrial cooperation which began to develop quite late, after 1983, and only now are the first more serious attempts being made to conclude agreements with Chinese partners. There are no longer-term arrangements, which represents one of the greatest minuses in this cooperation. Apart from this, because of the state of the economy of both countries, there is no talk either about joint investments because neither side has the necessary finance.

The causes of the present exceptionally unfavorable state should of course be sought on both sides, even though the blame is often put on the other side. Yugoslav businessmen rightly point out that negotiations with Chinese partners are being conducted very very slowly and often unnecessarily. Thus several months pass between the initial talks and the signing of an agreement, and in the end what happens is that what has been agreed upon does not come about. Therefore, there is none of that business security without which neither partner can plan their business in the long term.

There are also disputes concerning the setting of prices. The Chinese side has the habit of making different calculations depending on where the partner comes from. Considerably higher prices are usually suggested to Yugoslav businessmen than to those from the Western market. Of course unnecessary difficulties arise in the negotiations and they often fail.

Of course, the other side is not always innocent in everything. Delivery deadlines are extended and sometimes the quality of goods is not the quality that was agreed upon.

How To Be More Efficient

There is also the practice whereby partners want to "push forward" goods that fail on other more discriminating markets. Likewise, the more frequent changes to regulations on the Chinese side, dependent on the need to eliminate the causes of the blockage in reforms, do not give the firmer guarantee that trade and industrial cooperation will be realized in a more stable way. This also requires a "restructuring on the move" by the other side.

The Yugoslav side is not immune to failings and delays in the establishment of regulations and the approval of agreed arrangements either. Often months go by before all the necessary permits are received. Our slowness and inconsistency is well known in the adoption of rules which regulate trade with foreign countries. One example of this is the agreement on avoiding double taxation between China and Yugoslavia. The document was solemnly signed last December in Beijing. The Chinese ratified it quite quickly within 2 months but Yugoslavia has not yet done this even today. Because of this, our enterprises are unnecessarily paying tens of thousands of dollars for the business that has been agreed upon.

Generaleksport alone has had to pay $60,000 more for the export of technology from the Ivo Lola Ribar plant for the use of a Chinese cement factory. If the law is not ratified quickly, the Smelt firm will have to pay more than $2 million. In order to avoid the unnecessary payment of income tax, our enterprises contrive in such a way that they change the personnel in their branches every 3 months, which of course only hinders business operations.

Otherwise, because of the increasingly difficult business conditions on the Chinese market, some firms have had to close their branches (Ingra and Jugoslovenski Agrar).

As Zvone Dragan, Yugoslav ambassador in Beijing, stresses, because of all this, the two governments and economic organizations and associations must realistically analyze the causes of the present unfavorable tendencies and find new possibilities of gradually beginning to improve the trend in the next few years. The way out is in expanding the structure of imports and exports, and achievements reached in the economies of both countries must be perceived better. Thus, one could respond even better to the needs and interests of both the Chinese and Yugoslav economies.

Comment on Hungary Copying 'Western Formulas'

AU1910140289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Oct 89 p 7

[Vlado Teslic commentary in the "Week in the World" column: "It May Be All Right for the Hungarians, But..."]

[Text] In the week dominated by the congress of the Hungarian Communists, who are already former communists after having changed their name to the Hungarian Socialist Party—among other things in order to come closer to West European leftist parties—the quotation of the week has come from the Italian Communists. "It may be all right for the Hungarians," Giorgio Napolitano, a respected and prominent Italian Communist, said, "but the Italian Communist Party will not change its name."

Much that is unexplained and essentially unknown has been left in the wake of the congress, which began in the spirit of red carnations, the traditional social democratic sign, instead of the communist star, but nevertheless ended with the singing of the "International." True, the trumpets sounded by the party leaders announced a complete break with the (communist) past and even more than that: What was announced was a total transformation into a party of a liberal Western type, which accepts pluralism in the political system and a sociopolitical superstructure as in the West European countries.

If during the period of congress preparations we were asking "Who is the boss?" (Nyers or Grosz) and which of the reformers' factions was dominant, now after Nyers has been elected party president, but also after many compromises have been made, it is now appropriate to ask where the grassroots of the new party are, the grassroots that nobody seemed to have asked anything again. Who holds power in the country, on what system is it based, and what will the future of Hungary be like on the new European political scene that is still in its infancy and is full of uncertainties and even risks?

After all, what matters is not what name a party takes or into what it is transformed, but upon what political forces and orientations the state will be based. There is no state—and this also applies to the states in Western Europe—that is completely independent and separate from all parties, completely impartial, completely unrelated to classes, and completely wise and turned toward its citizens' benefits and welfare, no state that is free from the direct activity of a particular party or some other social force working in the interest of a particular class.

Instead of Radicalism in Reforms

One asks whether the people who planned this radical separation of the Hungarian state and its leading party from the past have also broken with the former orientation toward reforming everything that is not good and that could be improved. If the answer is positive, does that not mean that the state is being left to those who, in the name of another dogmatism, are announcing the reprivatization of social property and other radical and risky enterprises, including the idea of moving Hungary out of its geopolitical grouping.

It seems that the Polish communists, facing similar internal challenges, have chosen a more consistent road toward a reform of socialism with a "human face" as its

main characteristic. After all, they have agreed to share power, but they have not renounced responsibility for the country's destiny and for accepting the past achievements, which in general are by no means small, and they have clearly decided for a stable Poland in stable Europe.

The ideologists of the new Hungarian party and the organizers of its congress should certainly be acknowledged for having admitted the failures in what they have been doing so far and their inability and powerlessness to change anything there, whether because of the system or themselves. They should also be acknowledged for having decided to break off with dogmatism of a Stalinist type very resolutely and uncompromisingly in all spheres of social and political life.

Their trouble, however, is in going to another extreme—in having abandoned the course of democratic and socialist reforms that they have long championed and whose opportunities have by no means been exhausted. Many people will reproach them for having left their members and the public in other countries without an answer to the question of what they want and propose, unless the answer is supporting and identifying oneself with Western countries. They, however, have a different history, experiences, and sociopolitical situation. Besides, this is happening at a time when progressive forces in these countries, in the maelstrom of the crisis in their own systems, are seeking inspiration in the reforms carried out in socialist countries.

True, turning toward the West and its formulas is not only a Hungarian weakness. This is fashionable among everybody else in the broad display of people who have become discontented with the experiences and failures in socialist countries. There are very few efforts to enrich—in theory and practice—the processes of socialist democracy on the basis of new knowledge, even after one has proclaimed and clearly established reforms that lead in this direction. In a very facile way, one reaches for other people's formulas toward which, as a rule, one assumes an extremely uncritical attitude, something which is particularly surprising when the people in question consider themselves to be Marxists. It looks as if everybody would like to be Social Democrat now, when—out of pragmatism or powerlessness—West European Social Democrats are renouncing their postwar concept of creating a state based on social care and welfare, and when they are competing with conservative politicians for the position of best manager of neocapitalism.

There is, of course, an important specific feature in the Hungarian decision to copy the Western formula. The ruling party that they have had hitherto has, to a great extent, become an amalgam of old political and ideological rivals who have never become equal partners. What was involved were classic Social Democratic parties and an even more classic Stalinist-type communist party. To make it even simpler, due to the situation immediately following the war, the former lost their party characteristics because the latter grabbed all the power with the help of the Soviet Army and police.

Neither Communist Nor Socialist

The opposite process is happening now because of the present situation which, of course, results from the communists' failure. The others seem to be successfully taking advantage of the situation and they want to restore the old party. After all, they have always been more ready and prompt, as well as politically more present in all spheres of the superstructure of Hungarian society, which does not mean that they were less Stalinist than those who arrived from the USSR.

In any case, the united party had relied mostly on professional activists in the party and state apparatus, on the police and the army, as well as on some sections of the workers class, which often realized some of its economic demands through the party.

Therefore, one can hardly say that this party has ever been a national, revolutionary, or workers' party, and it is even more difficult to foresee how it can become a socialist party in the Western sense of this quite vague political term.

Of course, Hungarian society is neither politically nor economically homogeneous—for instance, the interests of the workers class and of the people working in the dominant social sector differ from those of the people dealing in small businesses or services. What is inevitable [neminovan] is a greater political differentiation, along with a departure from the former system and a strengthening of the bourgeois parties: completely new parties, such as the Democratic Forum, or renewed old ones, or even the reappearance on the political scene of nationalist parties with revanchist demands, which have always had a significant role in Hungary.

Renouncing the old name does not mean that the new party will renounce the practice of representing the workers class. The new name also does not mean that the new party may be a successful "socialist" party, because for some people that will only mean applying new color to the old party and the others will assess it as running away from the past without which, as Grosz has put it, there can be no future.

The trouble with postwar Hungary is that it has never had a proper communist party, a party that would suit its people. After all, this is why it was always balancing on the verge of dissolution and new beginnings. This was the case in 1947, when it fell into the hands of the omnipotent Rakosi; in 1956 when, for a short period of time, Kadar and Nagy formed the party again; and in 1957, when Kadar turned it toward strictly controlled reforms under the Kadar-style socialism, that is, "goulash socialism."

The fact that changing things on the Hungarian political scene is not that easy and that only a small step has been made in rejecting the past and even a smaller one toward the bright future is manifested by the compromises made at the end of the congress and by warnings from President Nyers, a former social democrat and, one can now

say, a former main ideologue of the reform of socialism. Because nobody is talking about reforming socialism any longer, but mostly about reforming the party.

If it turns out that the grassroots, who had not been asked anything, will not accept the dissolution of the party organizations in enterprises, or if the workers militia refuses to be dissolved, then Nyers, who has already announced his withdrawal, risks leaving the new Socialist Party without either members or influence.

What remains, of course, is Imre Pozsgay, the "new strong man" and the advocate of radical changes, for whom the new party intended the important post of president of the republic. But that, again, is the problem of the whole electorate.

Pondering about the future of Hungary immediately after the congress, Pozsgay assured everybody that there will be no violence, that is, military coups, and he invoked Jaruzelski's experience too. That may be. He insisted on the importance of the term "central Europe in the broader sense," in which Hungary, a part of Italy, as well as Austria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania will be able to shape their joint destiny.

Something like that may be possible. However, if the renewed Smallholders Party is asked, the president of Hungary in this community will not be Pozsgay, but Otto von Habsburg, the son of the last Austro-Hungarian emperor.

Pancevski Congratulates GDR's Krenz on Election

AU1910165489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has congratulated Egon Krenz on his election as general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Aleksandar Sekulovic, head of the Section for International Cooperation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has received Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador to Yugoslavia, who briefed him on the decisions of the last plenum of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The view was expressed that relations between the two parties and states would continue to successfully develop in the future.

Swiss Terror Accusation Against SFRY 'Absurd'

LD2010185589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Geneva, October 20 (TANJUG)—Swiss TV made its own contribution to a list of absurd accusations against Yugoslavia yesterday, alleging on the evening news that a "Yugoslav secret service" was responsible for the bomb explosion in Geneva on October 12, which it said could harm relations between the two countries.

Swiss TV obviously disregarded the statement of Swiss Interior Ministry spokesman that "nothing has so far been established" in connection with the explosion outside a building in which "an Albanian family lives", a fact which is particularly stressed here.

Swiss TV (?insinuated) that the victim of the explosion was allegedly to be Dzafer Satri, a Yugoslav ethnic Albanian, who personally appeared on the news programme. Satri was presented to the TV audience as a staunch champion of the rights of ethnic Albanians who had spoken at a session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

Satri heads the "S.O.S. Committee for Kosovo", set up in Switzerland to advocate the greater-Albanian ideas of an ethnically pure Kosovo, Yugoslav autonomous province, and the separatist aspirations of ethnic Albanian chauvinists in Kosovo. It is believed that the committee has initiated the current anti-Yugoslav campaign in Swiss media.

The comment on the Swiss TV news programme that relations between Switzerland and Yugoslavia could turn sour was not only an unfounded assessment but it also ran counter to the friendly relations and diverse cooperation between the two countries. Switzerland and Yugoslavia devote an important place in their bilateral relations to issues of security and the suppression of international terrorism. As members of the Group of Neutral and Non-Aligned European Countries, they have successfully cooperated on drawing up highly commended CSCE documents on human rights.

Embassy in Berne Denies Link

LD2210143489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Geneva, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Embassy in Berne today strongly denied that there was any link between Yugoslavia and a bomb which exploded outside a block of apartments in Geneva in which Dzafer Satri, an emigrant from Kosovo, lives. The bomb exploded on 12 October and became the subject of anti-Yugoslav reports in a number of Swiss papers.

The denial was briefly reported by LA SUISSE, one of the three papers which over the last 3 days have reported on the explosion calling it "an unsuccessful assassination attempt by the Yugoslav secret service". [passage omitted]

LCY Commission on East Europe, USSR Reforms

LD1810215389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 18 (TANJUG)—The reforms in the USSR, Hungary and Poland are of a historical importance which exceeds the frontiers of those countries, but they have been coupled with dramatic developments and dangers for the new policy and practice, the

commission for international cooperation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee assessed today.

Underscoring that Yugoslavia had inaugurated reforms far ahead of the three Eastern European countries, the LCY Central Committee commission set out that the next LCY congress, to be held in January 1990, should provide an answer to the question how Yugoslavia is to proceed further in its own conditions and not to the (?question) whether the Eastern European process should serve (?as an) example to Yugoslavia.

The party commission assessed that the positive course of events in the three Eastern European countries cannot be stopped, despite the potential dangers involved, because not socialism but bureaucratic [word indistinct] is in a crisis in the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary.

At the commission's session, the opinion was heard that the so-called Moscow group rallied around Boris Yeltsin was doing great harm to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's "perestroyka."

Further Reportage on LCY Plenum Discussions

Reform, Implementation Assessed

LD2010221289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) must [word indistinct] economic reform and measure political conditions for its implementation, it was assessed in today's discussion at the LCY Central Committee session devoted to major draft documents prepared for the 14th special LCY Congress in January next year.

The draft document on a reform of the economic system is burdened with obsolete views and is not in keeping with the demands for radical changes, changes which are to ensure economic effectiveness and political democracy, according to the majority of participants in the discussion.

LCY Central Committee members urged that the League of Communists take a stance on the respective draft document on a new concept of special ownership, the federation's economic powers, integral self-management and, above all, the ways of overcoming inflation.

Athough it is a burning issue with an annual rate of 1,181 percent, inflation is treated in general terms in the draft document because no consensus exists on how it is to be coped with, it was set out in the discussion.

LCY Presidency Secretary Stefan Korosec pointed out that the Yugoslav inflation was structural in nature and could not be resolved by the copying of foreign models. He, therefore, called for the creation of an anti-inflation movement which would help the federal government draw up a comprehensive programme of anti-inflation measures.

Participants in the discussion insisted that the draft document of a reform of the economic system should specify the holders of social property and define their rights and duties. Some LCY Central Committee members called for the domination of social ownership and others, for the equality of all types of ownerships. The latter feel that the opponents of a shift to market economy are using self-management as a screen.

Social property should be affirmed through market competition on the basis of its own effectiveness. The operational bodies of all work organizations should be placed in an equal position. The ideas of a meted-out market economy in socialism are unacceptable, according to the advocates of the equality of all types of ownership.

The champions of social ownership, on the other hand, believe that social ownership should be dominant where it proves to be effective in competition with other types of ownership.

Two opposing views of the party plenum today. According to one view, mainly held by representatives of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, the federation's powers should not be broadened. According to the other, advocated mainly by representatives of Serbia, the federation should have stronger powers. All are, however, in agreement that the elimination of republican insularity and the creation of a single Yugoslav market are vital for the success of reforms.

Radmilovic Address

LD2010230889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0208 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—We have finally reached, albeit with a long delay, a high degree of agreement that a radical economic reform is necessary to increase efficiency and to overcome the crisis, Stanko Rdamilovic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee [CC] Presidium, stressed in his introductory address at today's LCY plenum.

An agreement was reached on many issues regarding the reform. A great number of them have already been institutionalized. Nevertheless, there is much to be done. The entirety of these issues is dealt with in the document, "The Economic Reform and the Role and Tasks of the League of Communists in its Implementation." This is not being made to open a new debate on the questions to which the solutions have already crystallized but to grasp the system and society in their entirety in a way that will enable the congress as the highest assembly of communists to outline the LCY's program orientation.

It is an empirical fact that the typical (average) Yugoslav enterprise (exceptions just confirm this rule) based on social ownership and self-management shows very poor economic efficiency. Not even the fact that the typical Yugoslav enterprise is burdened by an excessive "social management" can fundamentally revise this conclusion.

For, even when a realistic analysis reduces the entire costs of all social and mutually shared services to the level sustained by the economy of the developed countries and when real interest rates are scaled down to under 10 percent—something that, of course, should be carried out in practice—it is still evident that the economic performance of the typical Yugoslav enterprise is so poor that it is led to resort to specific subsidies in the form of basically negative economic entities (unrealistic exchange rates of dinar in using foreign credits and importing, negative interest rates in real terms, "eating" the substance of social means) or to constant attempts to improve its business results by increasing prices.

It is a bitter, albeit irrefutable, fact that there has been no confirmation in practice of the earlier optimistic forecasts that the self-management system would demonstrate a higher economic efficiency on the grounds of the expected higher motivation factor of the self-management based on social ownership.

The LC has also realized that a radical reform of the economic system is inevitable, a reform that would be considerably more radical than it has ever been devised in our country (and for that matter, in the world of socialism as well). Of course, it must be stressed that from the LC's point of view the aim of this radical appraoch is not to divorce from creating socialism but to institutionalize an economic system that would effectively create a democratic socialist society and affirm it in practice. However, ideas and commitments often get beyond this rubicon.

The inadequate institutionalization of social ownership—the one that implied this is nonproperty—has long been considered the prime cause of the system's hitherto shortcomings. This nonproperty impled that it was the property of "all and everyone," that is "of no one and everyone."

However, a critical attitude toward social ownership has emerged over the past few years. The attitude that it is impossible to base an efficient economic system upon social ownership have become increasingly loud. If this is so, if social ownership is inevitably inefficient beyond any hope, then it, under the conditions of an equal treatment of all other forms of ownership—cannot, according to these notions, remain dominent. All the more so, it cannot even survive in the long run. From this, it appears that social ownership and self-management should be abandoned to enable us to create an efficient economic system based on private ownership, the one conducive to high efficiency and rich society. This is why this society would be socialist even if we did not name it as such. This would obviously reduce the notion of socialism to a too narrow scale, Radmilovic maintains. We would probably not miss the point if we said that the majority of LC members and, on a broader scale, most workers would find such a reduction of socialism unacceptable. This reluctance, however, must not be of an arbitrary nature. If we are to deny this reduction of socialism with arguments we must prove that not only would this not be a desirable socialist society but also that there is a realistic solution that enables us not to opt for a basically nonsocialist or insufficiently socialist solution.

To qualify a society as being socialist, from a modern point of view, it must be highly efficient in economic terms and rich.

This is the first and necessary precondition, but this is, however, an insufficient one. If society is to be socialist, there must be an acceptable distribution of income and affluence. The first and perhaps the second precondition are in evidence in the developed social-democratic societies. Therefore, to correctly regard an individual society as being socialism the third precondition must also be met—that this particular society, in all its complexity and diversity, enables the majority of workers to have a more favorable position than if they particpated in capitalism today Radmilovic noted.

There is no need for an extensive explanation to make evident that such a redefinition of socialism implies that within the pluralism of ownership social ownership, and self-management based upon it, is to have the dominant share. If we abandoned social ownership, we would necessarily abandon self-management as well.

The adoption of the idea of the distribution of social property among workers by the means of shares would inevitably lead, via the gradual redistribution of these shares, to their concentration in a lesser number of hands. Hence, this would lead to the formation of the groupings of share owners who would govern enterprises and of workers and nonowners, who would only participate in governing. This would mean splitting self-management into governing and participation.

All things taken into acount, if we are do not succeed in making social enterprises based on pure social ownership, and mixed enterprises based on social ownership and other forms of ownership, so efficient that they ensure, under the circumstances of an equal competiton with other forms of ownership, that social property retains its dominant position in terms of its share and not in terms of its treatment, it will mean that the establishment of socialism is not possible on this level of development and on the premises of social ownership and self-management, the speaker stressed. He also added that the key question is: Can we mould social property in such a way whereby it would have the characteristics of property and also be highly efficient so to be dominant thanks to this way (rather than to being socially preferred).

Those who claim that this is not possible cherish the notion that social ownership by its very character does not facilitate the establishment of the capital market. This is a strictly formal reasoning: to make this possible (ownership) ought to be institutionalized in a way in which it can be sold and bought. To this end not only must its subjects be known but they should be willing to take transactions regarding this ownership. A similar

reasoning is applied to the possibillity of establishing the workforce market in the conditions of self-management.

All this reasoning suggests that there are no institutional possibilities of establishing the market of production factors, and consequently, the total market and an efficient market system under the conditions of social ownership and self-management. It appears that social ownership and self-management are an obstacle for the establishment of the market and efficiency, Radmilovic noted.

The LC, in Radmilovic's words, assesses that the solutions to the macroeconomic system in a democratic socialism with a market economic system should be sought under the conditions of the pluralism of ownership and the comprehensive market and in the formula: social ownership, self-management, and management rather than in privatization. That is, in recapitalization of social ownership which aims to implement the exclusive and, in essence, insufficiently socialist formula, the one that is being ever more abandoned today: private ownership, management, and participation.

A macroeconomic reform, of course, in the framework of a truly federal concept of Yugoslavia based on the anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, should necessarily be an integral part of the economic reform advocated by the LC. Its fundamental character should be outlined by reducing the consensus economy at the macroeconomic level, although there is no full agreement on this issue. There are also opinions that considerable macroeconomic reform is not needed nor is it acceptable and that the basic features of the existing macroeconomic system, ie, the existing relationships in the federation and its economic functions should be preserved. If significant changes were to be implemented in this respect it would, according to these views, amount to, among other things, an intolerable centralization of the state. This would be conducive to the increasing danger of unitarism and would also result in the administrative redistribution of income and threaten the economic basis of the equality of the nations and nationalities.

These attitudes are, however, more or less disputable ones. There are no aspirations, at least they are of no significance, for devising such economic functions of the state that would be more excessive that in the other countries with the developed market economy. Hence, all the insinuations about attempts at establishing a system resembling state socialism must be refuted, Radmilovic stressed. He added that even those commitments that might be qualified as radical do not imply the overstepping of the competences which are exercised by the other federal states in countries with the market economy.

The establishment of a modern federal state which has the possibility of efficiently carrying out its macroeconomic functions implies that it is not to be desigend as a consensus macro-economy. Of course, the federal state must necessarily be what the federal units have agreed on in the course of comprising the federation. For federalism cannot be imposed on the federal units. But this general agreement cannot be desigend as a permanent discussion if the federation is to be efficient. This cannot be designed as a consensus macro-economy, applicable to all the issues. If an efficient system is to be set up in the course of projecting the federation the federal units should not proceed from the responsibility for their own development alone. At the same time they should take into account to the same extent the responsibility for the development of the whole, Radmilovic said.

If the federation is to be designed in a way whereby its decision-making, something that represents the implementation of its decisions, will not be prone to even light blockades; i.e. if it is to be based upon non-consensus decision-making (with a limited number of exceptions) in an assembly chamber, based on the proportional principle, and in some cases on the principle of parity as well, and if such a decision-making gains more prominence than it has hitherto had in the Federal Executive Council too, then this would mean that federation has authenticity, autonomy, and subjectivity. But this does not mean that the federation would assume a kind of trans-institutional character towards the federal units. For, it is these very units that comprise this federation, the place where they, i.e. representatives of their working people, nations, and nationalities, make their decisions.

To be more specific, the macro-economic reform implies, in addition to its more rational blueprint of the federation's economic functions and the decision-making in this regard, especially: rationalization in the executive sphere; the responsibility for enforcing federal laws in order to ensure constitutionality and lawfulness and the establishment of a state with the rule of law, rather than of a party state; in economic life, the establishment of a uniform taxation system, and to a certain extent a unified taxation policy; the establishment of an indispensable economic and technological unity of a big economic system; the optimum of the federation's function in the system of incentives for the quicker development of the undeveloped republics and Kosovo, Radmilovic explained.

The expectation is absurd that we, in our conditions, can set up a unified Yugoslav market and an efficient economic system in which only the domain of selling and buying would be unified and free, while everything else would be strictly separated and left to the principles of the consensus economy.

For, insisting on this would mean a blockade of the reform and staying at the level of poor efficiency—at which everyone in Yugoslavia is scoring poorly to a varying degree, or at least scoring less than all of us together and each individual in federal units could, the speaker believes.

Radmilovic then noted that the League of Communists assessed that a great deal had been done in designing the

economic reform, particularly in explaining and developing the essential macro-economic aspects of the economic system that fits a democratic socialism based upon the market. A great deal has been achieved in this sphere regarding the implementation itself, primarily thanks to the fact that the constitutional changes have opened up a vast terrain for changes in this sphere. [passage omitted]

While dwelling on the economic policy needed for the implementation of reform, or rather the realization of a new system and stabilization, Radmilovic first gave an illustration of the current situation.

The index of growth of the nominal social product in the period 1979-1988 is about 12,300. Within this the index of the real social product for all 10 years is only about 106 percent, while all the remainder is the overblown price, or inflationary component. The real explosion in prices came this year, particularly in the second and third quarters, so that the rate of increase in retail prices at the end of September, in comparison with September 1988, reached as much as 1,181 percent.

At the same time, the rate of so-called open unemployment [otvorena nezaposlenost] is about 14 percent. If we were to take into consideration the latent unemployment—since we frequently hear that in almost every enterprise there is a surplus not only of administrative but also of production workers—then the rate of unemployment is nearing 30 percent.

Investment has been reduced in real terms to about half the level it was in 1979, and real personal incomes have fallen by nearly a third in this period. All this indicates that we are in the most serious form or type of stagflation, Radmilovic warned.

Inflation canot be brought down with a concept that means deeper stagnation. We cannot accept the saying that "we have yet to pay the price of stabilization." Have we not already paid a high enough price, he asked, noting that we now have greater agreement that reform cannot be implemented in conditions of hyperinflation.

Having stressed that a solution to the crisis does exist, Radmilovic noted that in the next few years the economic system will inevitably have to be a combination of what exists and what is emerging. For all that the institutionalization of, for example, the capital market and labor market may be a single act, recovery is nevertheless a process.

A solution to the problem is often thought to be possible, particularly in academic circles, which is practically impossible: that through the large-scale collapse of the inefficient [enterprises], the price of the way out of the crisis will be paid. It is true, is very hard, but must be paid. However, this would, in fact, be a program for the greater part of the economy. The only survivors would be the most efficient, those who by their efficiency can find rescue in exports.

This, however, is quite unrealistic, Radmilovic believes. It would mean enormous social and political tension and no program of social welfare can be devised that would compensate for this. A realistic solution for increasing our efficiency is to develop profitability through reform as a whole, which would lead to an increase in efficiency, provided that the economic policy is conceived so as to facilitate the realization of high rates of growth.

In light of such a concept of increasing efficiency and overcoming stagnation, we also have to seek a solution to the problem of hyperinflation. Of course, the LC cannot and should not have pretensions to drawing up an anti-inflationary program, nor even a concept for one. However, the LC does have a duty to point out the need for a vigorous struggle against inflation and for a complete and consistent anti-inflationary program to be developed to this end, to initiate some kind of "general anti-inflationary movement," the achievement of appropriate social consensus.

The LC has both the need and the duty, because of the social and political shocks and implications which would inevitably ensue, to point out that stemming the inflationary expectations, with the aim of bridling hyperinflation, by means of the shock therapy of commodity demand—that is, by means of its drastic reduction—is neither possible nor acceptable in the conditions of long-term and pronounced stagnation. This would have a terrible effect on production, would increase unemployment, compound the hold-up in development, and so on, Radmilovic underlined.

In the struggle against hyper-inflation we are currently applying a specific combination of measures. A particularly restrictive concept will come into effect soon, that is the concept of the reduction of commodity demand by various measures. Much of what is being undertaken is precisely aimed at limiting or reducing commodity demand and in this way eliminating inflationary expectation. This is, in fact, shock therapy of commodity demand. In addition, attempts are being made to eliminate inflationary expectations in some new ways as well by administrative interventions in the sphere of calculations, conditions of sale, and so on. In addition to all this, some elements of the well-known concept of programmed inflation have recently been applied, at least temporarily, Radmilovic said.

Taking all things into consideration, the question inevitably being asked is do we have a consistent concept, appropriate to our situation, for reducing inflation (stagflation)? This is all well and good if the fear proves unjustified that everything being done is not sufficient to stem inflationary expectation and bring down inflation to a two-figure level (which is essential for the implementation of reform), but that the restrictions and reductions in commodity demand will be more than enough to reduce production and deepen stagnation. This means the fueling of stagflation.

Concluding his speech, Dr Stanko Radmilovic stressed that it would be impermissible for economic reform to be jeopardized, either by the wrong decisions in the microeconomic reform, or by the blocking of macroeconomic reform, or by mistakes in its implementation, primarily in current economic policy. The collapse of reform would mean one of two equally unacceptable epilogues: either remaining in some quasi-market system or state socialism, as happened in 1968; or going to the other extreme, with great difficulties, changes, and uncertainties, to a social democratic system without social property and self-management, but not the Scandinavian, rather a Balkan version.

Plenum Resumes 21 Oct

LD2110090689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The 2d day of the session of the 28th plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee has begun in Belgrade's Sava Center with a debate on the draft theory for drawing up the ideopolitical platform for LC activity in changing the political system.

The introductory speech on this pre-congress document is being given by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

According to the approved agenda for the plenum, the members of the top party forum are today also to adopt the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the ideopolitical substance of the attacks on the person and works of Josip Broz Tito. Also before them is the draft of the changes and amendments to the LCY Statute and the decision on founding the position of President of the LCY Central Committee and constituting an executive political organ of the Central Committee.

The members of the Central Committee will also be presented with information on the demand from the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee for an examination of the situation in the Knin region.

Racan Speaks

LD2110160289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Social reform, and as part of it, reform of the political system, cannot be directed and planned from one political center. Behind it must stand all socialist and democratic forces of our society. It is a question of the need for a certain general consensus in determining the character and direction of the political system's reform.

This was stated by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee presidium, in his expose of the draft thesis for drawing up the ideopolitical platform for the LCY in changing the political system. In his introductory words, Racan informed the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the committee for the preparation of the 14th Extraordinary Congress. As for the notes' authorship, Racan said, they relate to what is emphasized in the theses themselves, and they have not been discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Explaining the LCY's stances toward the political system's reform, Racan said that the LCY should act in such a way that it anticipates and speeds up its own transformation, and thereby influence the course of reform. In this the League of Communists is not acting from a position of monopoly of power, nor as the advocate of one political truth. It is a question of the determining role of the membership and responsibility of the organs to represent this will of the membership in the political system's reform. In the public debate the proposed stances are open to all ideas and proposals which follow the strategic lines of democratic reform, Racan stressed.

Emphasizing that the key issue of the political system is the kind of socialism we want and can build, and on this basis, the kind of social system, Ivica Racan outlined the following elements:

First, an economically and socially more effective system, the aim of which is to make possible for everyone a better, richer, and more humane life;

Second, the constitution of a market economy, the strengthening of the autonomy of econmic subjects, and pluralism of ownership in which the social form of ownership should can have an economically dominant position only on the basis of equal bases of economic activity, competition and efficiency proven on the market;

Third, the reaffirmation of self-management and the realization of the self-managing position, rights and responsibilities of workers in conditions of a market economy and pluralism of ownership;

Fourth, the strong affirmation of the citizen as the subject of the political system, and the reaffirmation of his rights and freedoms;

Fifth, political pluralism as the form and substance of the political organisation of society;

Sixth, reform of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations along the lines of ending the monopoly of power of political factors over the economy and society;

Seventh, the building of a democratic law-governed state which also presupposes the deregulation of social relations and a certian disideologisation and depoliticisation of the state;

Eighth, strengthening of responsibility for our own develoment, and through this, for our joint development, for the consolidation of solidarity and reciprocity in the socioeconomic and political relations of our socialist federative community;

And finally, ninth, the further development of the SFRY on the foundations of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] of equality of nations and their republics. Speaking about the affirmation of citizens as subjects of the political system, Ivica Racan said that in the changes of the political system, the League of Communists will advocate the maximum possible elimination of the discrepancy between, and the proclamation and actual realization of, these rights. In particular, this means the freedom of political association and trade union organization, freedom of speech, public statements, the press, information, conscience, and religion. In order to protect these inalienable rights and freedoms of citizens, Racan said that it is essential to ensure the courts' autonomy, free and democratic elections, citizens' equality before the law, and essential democratic mechanisms whereby the citizen can control the state power.

Affirmation of the citizen as the subject of the political system does not mean a threat to national interests, emancipation, or equality, but rather their democratic and civilized foundation, Racan continued. The realization of this principle in the federal structure of our community must serve the rights of individual nations and nationalities, and not their separatist or hegemonistic repression. To this end, it is particularly important to overcome, for example: Heightened conflicts about whether republican sovereignty and subjectivity is overemphasized to the extent that it federalizes Yugoslavia, or is so stultified that it unitarizes Yugoslavia. In fighting for the clearer determination and more efficient realization of the authority of the Federation, the LCY will oppose both the confederalization and the unitarization of federal relations. One way to overcome the conflict is precisely the affirmation of the citizen as a political subject.

Self-management remains a strategic issue of our socialist development. Precisely on account of this orientation, the LCY must be extremely critical of anything which negates, threatens, or compromises it. This presupposes as well a critical atitude toward the hitherto normativist concept of so-called integral self-management. This is an unrealistic ideological and normative projection of self-management as a integral social system and total social relation, Ivica Racan continued, adding that we must also rid ourselves of voluntaristic views of self-management as an historical process. In conditions of constituting a market economy, pluralism of ownership, and political pluralism—and these are some of the key elements of social reform—there is necessarily a demand for pluralism of forms and content of self-management, decisionmaking, and participation.

As for the political association of citizens as a basic issue of the affirmation of political pluralism, Racan said that the League of Communists' position is clear: the extension of the citizens' rights and freedoms, which implies that the citizen may associate and form organizations. This right should be subject only to those limitations which serve exclusively to protect the community's constitutional foundations and the equal rights and freedoms of others. Within this framework, the league of communists calls for the development of all elements of political pluralism, social and political organizations, associations, interest groups, and other forms of organized, spontaneous, and informal association of citizens which facilitate the free satisfaction of the political needs and interests of citizens and the free formation and competition of political ideas and programs.

The League of Communists' social role and position is not given a priori, guaranteed by the Constitution. In future, the League of Communists must fight for it as an equal political subject in conditions of political pluralism. Political pluralism confirms the right of citizens to organize and associate within the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] or outside it if it is considered, for example, that the framework of the Socialist Alliance is inadequate for such association.

The League of Communists also advocates the fundamental transformation and democratization of sociopolitical organizations, particularly the Socialist Alliance. Individual forms of political association are a matter for citizens themselves, their interests and orientations. This is a particularly important stand of the League of Communists.

Racan went on to say, We do not agree that political pluralism's content and problem should be reduced simply to the question of a multiparty system, because this is only one of political pluralism's possible forms. In this connection the League of Communists should advocate the inclusion of the best features of the multiparty model in the political processes and functioning of state authority, while at the same time endeavoring to radically remove the roots of political monopolies and manipulation of the will of the people in the struggle for power, and expanding the exisitng content of our self-managing democracy and already proven forms of direct participation of citizens and workers in political life and social decision making. Inevitably, we must abandon a dogmatic attitude toward the values of civil democracy as civilizing trends. They are not contrary to a socialist society, rather they are inherent in it. Without them, it loses its foundation and historical continuity with a general human struggle for progress.

Racan went on in his speech to speak about the need for necessary and profound changes in the Assembly and electoral system. In this context he said that it will be vital to establish a rational combination of the representative and delegate principle in place of the present dogmatism and absolutism of the delegate system. It will also be necesary to define in a more precise way the competent authority of the assemblies of the republics and provinces and of the assembly of the SFRY. It will be necessary to reexamine the institution of the presidencies of the republics and provinces and whether they should be regulated at all by the Federal Constitution.

As regards the SFRY Assembly, Racan said that in this respect a relatively high level of agreement has been reached. The LC starts from the fact that there are two chambers in the Federal Assembly— a citizens's chamber and a chamber of the federal units. The League of Communists will advocate that the principle of two-tier decision making be introduced in the SFRY Assembly and also that the chamber of the federal units be elected in accordance with the principle of equal representation and that decision on questions of vital interest to the national and federal units be made in accordance with a consensus and agreement between federal units.

As regards dilemmas, Racan said that it remains an open question as to whether the citizen's chamber will be elected in accordance with the clear principle of proportional representation, or in accordance with this principle. But with a corrected specification of the minimal number of representatives in any one federal unit. There is also the dilemma of whether to introduce a chamber of labour or a chamber of self-management as a third chamber in the SFRY Assembly. In the framework of electoral changes, those which are connected to the democratization of elections and nomination procedure are particularly important.

The federal system is not only a straightforward question of the organization and functioning of the state, Racan stressed. The Yugoslav peoples voluntarily created the Yugoslav socialist federation. It guarantees to them their equality and scope for their own national development and democratic relations. Thus the federal system is the precondition for and the guarantee of, complete national equality—the lasting basis of the Yugoslav community. However, we cannot, and we should not, avoid the well-reasoned debate on the functions of the federation and on the content, institutions and method of implementing Yugoslav federalism.

The League of Communists advocates that, for the purpose of strengthening the Federation, the federation be at the same time divested of those functions which in a market economy are performed by economic subjects in accordance with economic logic, and that the economic functions of the federal state and its influences which relate above all to the unified Yugoslav market and the quality of economic subjects in it, be established. These relate also to the establishment and protection of the basis and freedom of citizens' rights—something which should not only not be reduced, but the level of these freedoms and their protection as laid down in international legal acts must be increased—to the protection of the territorial integrity and constitutional setup of the SFRY, to the further development and implementation of a unified system of all-people's defense—the backbone of which is made up by the Yugoslav People's Army as the common armed force of all the nations and nationalities—to the establishment and implementation of SFRY foreign policy, and to the ensuring and guaranteeing of the equality of the nations and nationalities and their inalienable rights and freedoms, in keeping with the original principles of our federalism and socialism. This strengthening of the efficacy of the modern federation should not mean for the League of Communists the strengthening of unitarism and centralism, just as the autonomy and the efficiency of the republics which are a constituent part of the federal constitutional set-up should not mean for the League of Communists separatism and polycentric statism, Racan stressed.

Our united orientation is that the reform of the political system must represent an act of the political will of all citizens, workers and creators, all our nations and nationalities and all republics and provinces. The LCY will make its democratic and creative contribution with its stances on the political system's reform.

Draft Theses Adopted

AU2110153389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has adopted the draft theses for a formulation of the ideopolitical platforms for the activity of the League of Communists in the political system and sent them to be discussed in a public debate. Let us now hear Momcilo Boskovic from the Sava Center:

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has met during the interval. We have found out that they had decided to propose to the Central Committee that several items on the plenum's long agenda be postponed and that only the ideopolitical essence of attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito be discussed this afternoon: Milan Pancevski will speak about this.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will propose that the session continue until 1700 and a new session be scheduled for the 27 October. We will find out what the Central Committee has decided in less than half an hour.

Cadre Issues Discussed

AU2110165389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] The session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia continued this afternoon. Let us go to our reporter, Momcilo Boskovic:

During the plenum's work this afternoon, Stefan Korosec proposed, on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee, that several points on the agenda of the 28th Plenum be postponed and that the sixth point on the ideopolitical essence of attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz be discussed. After a short discussion, it was decided that all these points on the agenda be postponed until 23 [date as heard] October when a new session of the Central Committee is scheduled.

At the moment, under the point—any other business—some cadre issues are being discussed. Thus, the Central Committee has appointed Vlajko Kijokapic as the director and chief editor of all KOMUNIST newspapers until the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The resignation by Vukasin Micunovic as member of the Central Committee is also being discussed. He announced this at the last session because, as he put it, he was fed up with his long years of work. A great debate has flared up over his resignation.

Borut Suklje thought that the Central Committee should not accept the resignation because this involves a prominent and experienced Communist who is needed by this Central Committee. Dusan Dragosavac, Nijaz Durakovic, and Ivo Druzic were of the same opinion.

Milo Djukanovic reacted to speeches by Dusan Dragosavac, claiming that he has recently participated in not only this session but also previous ones with some unacceptable speeches. Djukanovic did not want to make a decision on Vukasin Micunovic's resignation.

Otherwise, Drago Sofranac, who has just left the rostrum, said, among other things, that it is lucky that the destiny of this country is not in our hands, as this would be miserable. Ivan Brigic proposed that the Central Committee not decide on Vukasin Micunovic's resignation today but postpone this until the next session.

The discussion is continuing.

Political Pluralism Debated

LD2110204389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—Initiatives for thorough reforms in Yugoslavia's socialism were upheld today by most speakers at a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). The session debates the reforming of the country's political and social system.

The debate, however, revealed widely differing practical views on the lifting of the Yugoslav party's monopoly, and on the development of democracy, the introduction of political pluralism, and the concept of Yugoslavia's federation.

The communists in the Yugoslav Army, said Rear Admiral Stane Brovet, favour socialist society based on market, [words indistinct] legal state and up-to-date federation, but they are against a multi-party system in Yugoslavia.

In a multi-party system, he said, the Yugoslav Army would be transformed into "mercenaries" of the political party in power at the given moment, which, however, contradicts the present character and ideological orientation of the Yugoslav Army.

Sargej Krajger, notable Slovenian politician, maintains that self-management based on market law should be developed, while the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, as the most massive political organization, should "dam up" the party's monopolistic behaviour.

Communists should discuss changes within their party rather than those in the political system, said Ljubomir Medjesi and added that changes in society's order are the concern of all Yugoslav citizens, not of the communists alone.

Most speakers pledged themselves for an up-to-date and efficient federation of Yugoslavia, urging the changes in the country's present constitution.

Rear Admiral Brovet also called for urgent changes in the constitution which, in some its parts, was responsible for the generating of the country's crisis.

The party top, in its introductory document for this session, asserts that Yugoslavia's integral self-management is not realistic, said Nijaz Durakovic, president of the party in Yugoslavia's Republic Bosnia-Herzegovina. He stressed that the document failed to state clearly any better solutions existing for Yugoslav society.

Direct secret-ballot elections in the country were demanded, and so was an urgent abolition of both the constitutionally-foreseen political monopoly of the Yugoslav party, and the special parliamentary councils through which the party may influence the decision-making in parliament.

The LCY Central Committee is continuing its session.

TANJUG Reviews Plenum, Drafts

LD2110213689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) ended its two-day 28th plenary session here this afternoon in adopting the draft platforms for the reform of the country's political system, one of the two basic documents for the 14th, special congress scheduled in Belgrade for January 20-22.

The draft of the other document on the reforms of the economic system was adopted yesterday. [passage omitted]

Participants in the debate today largely upheld the theses in the congressional document on reforming the country's political system which provide for the deideologization of the state, the abolition of political monopoly of the League of Communists, the introduction of political pluralism, and the strengthening of the civil rights and freedoms.

The discussions, however, showed the differences especially with respect to the concepts of political pluralism and the role of Yugoslav federation.

The presented conceits of political pluralism ranged from what was termed "the non-party pluralism" (the acting of all political organizations, the LCY included, within the country's most massive political organization—the Socialist Alliance) up to the conventional multi-party system in which individuals see the only alternative to the "present party monopoly."

A large number of speakers pledged themselves for an up-to-date federation, but they viewed differently its structure and domains of activity. Whereas some of them advocated a "firm" federation, others (especially those from the most industrialized republic Slovenia) sought a reduction in the number of decisions that would be made at the federal level.

A few speakers called for the divisions and confrontations among the republican and provincial leaderships to be transcended, noting that the prolonging of these could have far-reaching consequences.

Copper Mill Workers Strike; Leaders Resign

AU1910163189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] After yesterday's work stoppage in the copper rolling mill, all work organizations of this Sevojno collective have gone on strike today. The demand has been repeated that the leading officials in the commune submit irrevocable resignations.

Radomir Milutinovic, president of the communal League of Communists conference, has submitted his irrevocable resignation. This was also done by the president of the commune, Radisa Stojcic. His resignation will be discussed at a session of the delegate assembly which elected him to this post. The president of the communal trade union council, Radoje Malinic, also submitted his resignation yesterday.

Strike Ends

AU2010182789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The 2-day strike by the workers of the Slobodan Penezic Kreun copper and aluminum rolling mill in Sevojno has ended. Work was resumed in the second shift after an announcement by the strike committee that Rados Stojcic, president of the Titovo Uzice Communal Assembly, and [name indistinct], president of the executive council, had submitted their irrevocable resignations at an extraordinary session of all chambers: thus meeting the workers' final demands.

Until extraordinary elections are held, the duties of president of the communal assembly will be carried out by the current president of the Local Community, Milojko Djuricic, and those of the president of the executive council by Pero Curcic.

1,500 Gather Outside Agrokomerc Trial Court

LD2310105389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Bihac, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Vildana Helic, a representative of the public prosecution, today read out before the bench of five in the Bihac high court the altered bill of indictment against those involved in the promissory note affair of Velika Kladusa's Agrokomerc.

The public prosecution did not drop the allegations contained in the earlier bill of indictment, but in keeping with the new criminal law of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, partially qualified them.

About 1,500 citizens, mainly from Velika Kladusa, who are expecting a decision by the court concerning the intimated release of Fikret Abdic on bail, have gathered in front of the court. The trial is continuing.

Defendant Released 23 Oct

LD2310125289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Bihac, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Bench of Five of the Bihac High Court, presided over by Judge Rifat Konjic today on the 238th day of the trial of those involved in the Agrokomerc affair adopted a decision to release from detention the primary defendant, Fikret Abdic.

This decision of the Bihac court was greeted by stormy chanting by more than 3,000 people, [words indistinct] and from Cazin who [words indistinct] since the early hours of this morning have been waiting outside the court. The main hearing continues on 31 October.

Fikret Abdic Returns to Work

AU2410133489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Fikret Abdic, the former head of Agrokomerc and the main defendant in the well-known promissory notes affair, has reported for work today. This followed yesterday's decision by the High Court in Bihac to release Abdic from detention.

He refused to enter his old office in the absence of the present Agrokomerc director, Osman Piri, but he immediately set off for a tour of the factory premises.

In last night's news conference in Velika Kladusa, Abdic announced that upon his return to Agrokomerc he would be more successful than before.

2d Part: Sukovic on Self-Management Reforms

AU1710115689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 89 p 2

[Second and last part of Mijat Sukovic article: "How the Place and the Role of Self-Management Is To Be Redefined in the New SFRY Constitution in Keeping With New Social Precepts: A New Bucket in the Well of Hope"]

[Text] The collapse and lack of future of the Yugoslav variation of self-management do not represent a need or justification for Yugoslavia to abandon the self-managing principle that it has fostered for 4 decades.

If it abandons this orientation, if it retracts from its choice of the self-managing way of development, Yugoslavia will change the social position of man for the worse, it will water down the content of the political and economic rights and freedoms of the creators of material wealth and spiritual values, and in this way it will lose the authentic socialist workers-class soul. It will extinguish the fire which the world has experienced and accepted as the source which emits the visionary stimulus and encouraging hopes. It will destroy itself in its own eyes and will drop in the world's eyes. It will deny itself!

Therefore, there is no dilemma as to whether self-management should or should not be affirmed in the new SFRY Constitution. The first question is: What kind of self-management should the new SFRY Constitution establish? How should it be shaped to be productive, effective, good, rational, and suitable for the historic situation at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century? This reasoning should not be seen as a political choice, as an ideologically motivated choice, but as an expression of the awareness of the historic value and importance of self-management.

Narrowing Down the Framework

An analysis of the reality and essence of the Marxist idea of self-management leads one to the realization that the direction of redefining self-management in Yugoslavia must amount to narrowing down the domain of self-management to a real and suitable framework and to improving its quality.

This narrowing down is imposed by the nature and essence of self-management which demand and stipulate that self-management should not "spread" to the areas where it cannot be competent. It is also imposed by the market methods of conducting business operations and the pluralism of ownership forms. Under the (justified) market conditions of evaluating all factors of production and under the conditions in which there is a significant increase in the size and role of private ownership, mixed ownership, and foreign ownership, it would not be realistic to retain "total" universal self-management and the right to self-management in all spheres and forms of work.

These facts and this realization demand the new SFRY Constitution to:

a) Draw a line between self-management and management (running businesses) so that the domain of self-management encompasses: development tasks; decisions concerning the purpose of capital accumulation; regulation of those relations that determine or predetermine the key guidelines concerning workers' positions; the election and dismissal of managers; and self-managing control. This would result in the transfer to management's domain of all problems whose solution presupposes expert and special knowledge.

b) Not "introduce" self-management in administration, the judiciary, security organs, or professional services in all forms of organizations, including political organizations. In these spheres there should be a suitable form of productive consultative participation.

c) Establish different forms of workers' and social participation, as well as political decisionmaking, in the enterprises and other institutions in which work is not carried out by the socially owned means of production, instead of insisting on the self-management monism that is not founded on facts.

In this way self-management will be exposed to a competition of various forms of workers' and social participation and political representation. This demands many things. First of all, this demands the Constitution to shape self-management in such a way that it can withstand this competition and express its superiority in this contest. Self-management will attain this ability only if it is vital, efficient, and rational. If this does not happen, self- management will be condemned to defeat. It will only remain a great hope. It will never become reality. Its democratic nature and democratic features are not sufficient for it to be productive, nor can they guarantee its historic prospect.

Raising Quality

The other direction of redefining self-management must be that of increasing its quality with the following constitutional provisions:

a) The Constitution must shape the content of self-management in such a way that it contributes to achieving more efficient and productive business operations and the creation of highly productive and rational production, and it must still remain in conformity with democratic decisionmaking. The necessity of this stems from the well-established fact that the system which is economically inefficient does not have future prospects.

b) The Constitution should determine the content of self-management in order to make it suitably complimentary and not opposed to the content, laws, and logic of the market way of conducting business operations, the equality of different forms of ownership, and political pluralism.

c) Instead of prescribing in detail the rigid, gigantic, irrational institutionalization of self-management, which has in fact blocked and bureaucratized self-management in practice and will ultimately destroy it, the Constitution should establish the principles for the free self-managing organizing and setting up of self-managing institutions depending on a specific situation and aims, and in this way create wide opportunities for a free and dynamic shaping and changing of the forms and methods of self-managing organization, activities, and decisionmaking. In doing so, it will be necessary to substantively reshape in the Constitution all principles, all institutions, and all forms of organizing within the system, so that they could represent the basis for the affirmation of the right to self-management. This particularly refers to the delegate principle, because its existence and democratic application is an indispensable condition for the realization of self-management beyond economic and territorial forms of organization. Outside these, without democratic decisionmaking, self-management would cease to exist and would be replaced by some other form of participation.

d) The Constitution should prescribe the forms and methods of realizing self-management in such a way that the emphasis is placed more than ever before on efficient self-managing control as the form and method of establishing and realizing self-management.

e) It should consistently and strictly realize the principle, the confirmed knowledge, that rights do not exist without duties and accountability. It should also note that self-management in Yugoslavia, because of everything that has happened with it so far and that and will happen in the period ahead of us, can be reaffirmed and reinforced, above all by increasing accountability as an integral part of self-management.

Right to Self-Management

The right to self-management should be placed in the context of the Constitution and be defined as:

—the right of the worker in a socially owned enterprise and in other institutions whose assets are socially owned to decide, together with other workers in the work collective and within relations characterized by equality and mutual accountability, through the workers' organs or personally, when this is allowed, on the aims of his work and the development of a socially owned enterprise or other social institution, on what happens to accumulated capital, on regulating relations which determine or predetermine the position of the workers, on the election and dismissal of managers, on the control and evaluation of work and the results of managers' work; as the right to call to account managers and to control and evaluate the realization of the established aims of work and the direction of development.

—the right of the worker and citizen, as political subjects, to individually and jointly participate in the process of preparing, shaping, and making political decisions in sociopolitical communities, above all those development and political decisions which determine or modify the general direction of the development of society as a whole or some of its parts, and to regulate relations which determine or predetermine the position of the workers and citizens in society and the quality of their lives; the rights to influence, through their participation in decisionmaking, the essence and aims of decisions that are being made; to control and evaluate the work of the state and social organs and initiate or undertake activities to prevent or eliminate the violation of the rights and freedoms of man, the violation of constitutionality and legality, and, when this is established, to jointly decide on certain questions through a referendum or other forms of expressing personal views.